

**A look at delexical English *make* and Norwegian *gjøre* from a
contrastive perspective.**

**There are some promising career opportunities for linguists.
(TH1)**

**Det finnes en del muligheter for lingvister.
(TH1T)**

by
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1. Introduction.

1.1 Aim of the study.

The aim of this thesis is to present a contrastive analysis of *delexical* uses of two similar verbs, English *make* and Norwegian *gjøre*. It is a grammatical study of this specific linguistic construction and will contribute to provide a thorough description of the two delexical verbs and to identify the way they are used in translations. This task will be achieved by accounting for the occurrences of these verbs and their translations in the *English Norwegian Parallel Corpus*, and through the comparison i.e, establishing the similarities and differences between them at a grammar and semantic level. This kind of methodology for language study is based on the assumption that languages are comparable, which is the foundation of Contrastive Linguistics, and is usually associated with the study of a pair of languages at levels like phonology, grammar and semantics:

“A general approach to the investigation of language, particularly as carried on in certain areas of applied linguistics, such as foreign-language teaching and translation. In a contrastive analysis of two languages, the points of structural differences are identified and these are then studied as areas of potential difficulty in foreign-language learning”(Crystal 1985:74).

My study was inspired by the research on English *make* and Swedish *göra* carried out by Altenberg (2001) and described in his paper *Contrasting delexical English make and Swedish göra*.

Delexical verb constructions are very frequent in English as well as in other languages. “The block-like, clustering character of natural language that Göran Kjellmer describes is well illustrated by 'delexical' verb combinations, such as English *make a speech, do harm, give a cry, have a look, take a walk*” (Altenberg 2001: 195). Despite the fact that these verb constructions are similar in structure across languages, they may be language-specific when it comes to the meaning they carry and the way they are used and so foreign language learners may find them difficult to use. What is more, “Expanded-predicate constructions are found in other languages, but nowhere else is their inventory so rich nor their frequency so high as in English” (Rensky 1964; cited in John Algeo, 1995).

Difficulties that these kinds of constructions create have been illustrated in several other studies, e.g, by Altenberg and Granger (2001), which, as instances of language behavior in different languages and previous work, are very important data for my own study. “It is

always desirable to have independent confirmation of results obtained in previous studies. Such confirmation ensures that the results have validity beyond the initial study from which they were obtained” (Meyer 2002: 103). The results show that the phenomenon of hypercorrection (overuse) or avoidance (underuse) of delexical constructions is not a seldom phenomenon among learners, which may be caused by a mixture of interlingual and intralingual problems (Rod 1994: 59).

By comparing the two similar verbs in their delexical uses I will be able to estimate the degree to which they correspond as observed in the *English Norwegian Parallel Corpus*. It will also be an aim to investigate what other correspondences they have and see whether English originals and English translations differ, which will also concern the Norwegian construction. This kind of linguistic studies belong to ‘applied linguistics’ as they can contribute to achieving better language teaching and learning through explaining foreign language performance (interlanguage analysis) and so facilitate the preparation of language teaching materials. This kind of studies can also contribute to better translations (both human translators and Machine Translation Tools and Information Extraction) and to the creation of bilingual or multilingual dictionaries and databases. Taking these observations into consideration, delexical verb constructions present an interesting item for study especially from a cross-linguistic perspective. Hence, in this chapter I shall clarify what is meant by delexical verb construction and I shall provide monolingual descriptions of delexical *make* and *gjøre* based on some reference grammars in English and Norwegian respectively.

1.2 Criteria for delexical verbs.

Identifying the appropriate observation methods involves an identification of search criteria. According to Quentin Allan (1998), the use of appropriate terms when referring to delexical verbs is very important as it may influence the way we perceive them. In his article, titled *Delexical verbs and degrees of desemanticization*, he draws our attention to the terminology used with reference to delexical combinations by different linguists and states his attitude towards them. He questions the use of some of them and underlines, similarly to John Algeo (1995), that no common label has yet been established.

Let’s focus first on the construction itself and the term ‘delexical’ used by Bengt Altenberg in his study (2001) based on the definition by Quirk (1985): “They can be broadly defined as

verb-object constructions in which a semantically general – or 'delexicalised' – verb is followed by a noun phrase headed by an eventive noun which carries the main part of the meaning” (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 750). I find the description of the construction in question by Allan (1998) equally useful: “The term delexical verbs refers to a small group of very common transitive verbs which take as their object a noun which can also be used as a verb” (Allan, 1998: 1). So in the case of *make progress*, *make* is the delexical verb and *progress* a deverbal noun, or in the case of *make an exception*, *make* is the delexical verb and *exception* is a deverbal noun, e. g.:

- (1.1) *How can we begin to make genuine progress, to realize human needs and human wants, in ways that are sustainable and that offer the planet a hopeful future?*
(LTLT1)
- (1.2) “*Couldn't you make an exception?*” (AT1)

The semantics of the very word 'delexical' denotes that the verb in a verb-object construction is more general lexically, serves the role of an auxiliary and is followed by a noun phrase in which the noun is deverbal and expresses the main 'action' meaning. Quirk et al. (1985) call this kind of object an eventive object as it indicates action and is semantically the extension of the verb (Quirk et al. : 750). Compare:

- (1.3) *It is your duty to decide.* (Quirk et al. 1985: 750)
- (1.4) *It is your duty to make the decisions.* (DF1)
- (1.5) *This woman, in all her eccentricities and in her appearance, is almost impossible to describe, but I shall make some attempt to do so a little later on.* (RD1)

Make a decision is a longer or expanded correlate of *to decide*.

Referring to different linguists and to their way of perceiving delexical constructions broadens our knowledge and understanding of what these kind of constructions are and how they are created and used. Since opinions on that topic differ from linguist to linguist, there are many terms and labels that can be applied to constructions in my research question.

And so Live (1973) perceives the verb as “almost devoid of lexical meaning” and uses labels like *light* or *lexically empty* (Live 1973; cited in Allan, 1998). The Cobuild Grammar (Sinclair, 1990; cited in Allan, 1998) uses the name *delexical verbs*. Elzbieta Dura and Barbara Gawronska (2005), authors of an article *Towards automatic translation of Support*

Verbs Constructions: the Case of Polish robic/zrobic and Swedish göra, labeled those verbs *support verbs* or even *dissolved verbs* as they serve the role of predicators in a sentence: “The grammatical verb in these constructions often has very general “light” semantics and supports the semantically “heavy“ direct object NP” (Dura and Gawronska 2005: 1). What is more, nouns occurring as objects of support verbs are non-referential, which means that it is not correct to create a question to a sentence like: *What have you made? - A decision to go home* (Dura and Gawronska 2005: 2).

Linguists like Wierzbicka (1982) and Stein (1991) present a different attitude and suggest that naming verbs like *make* 'light verbs' is an overgeneralization as they carry some meaning in the construction in which they occur (cf. Allan, 1998). They do not delimit the lexical importance of these verbs and, as Wierzbicka (1982) puts it, constructions like *have a V* refer to voluntary activities (cf. Allan, 1998:3).

Allan (1998) himself prefers the name *desemanticised verbs* meaning verbs devoid of its meaning (Allan 1998: 2). In his opinion, this label is a more appropriate one as it refers to the result of the creation process and the use of delexical constructions and not to the way the construction was created. The term *delexical verbs* refers only to the mechanics of the creation process.

What makes the delexical construction specific is its character as it mirrors the oppositions that occur in the system of the English language. One such opposition is the contrast between grammar and lexis with respect to the part of speech that is central to each (Algeo 1995: 203). The verb is the center of sentence grammar and the rest of it – objects, complements, some adverbials, tense-aspect options, voice – is dependent on the type of verb in the clause. In lexis, however, nouns are the commonest part of speech. Similarly, the majority of new words entering the language are nouns and the vocabulary is noun-centered (Algeo 1995: 203). Moreover, the semantics of the sentence is carried by its nouns. The main conclusion of such observations is that English is a verbal language when it comes to grammar, but it is nominal when it comes to semantics. The construction in question, like *make a speech*, a synonym of the verb *speech*, reflects this feature of the English language. This idea is also supported by Altenberg (2001):

“Delexical verb combinations have many characteristics which set them apart from corresponding constructions with a single verb.(...) the choice of verb is generally collocationally restricted (e.g. *make/*do a mistake*) and in many cases the combination is idiomatic (e.g. *have a go*). Hence, delexical verb combinations can be said to exist at the intersection between grammar and lexis: they can generally be analysed as

grammatical constructions but they are also 'block-like' lexical units that require entries in a dictionary" (cf. Algeo, 1995: 204).

Despite having this knowledge about delexical verbs one may face serious difficulties in classifying these constructions as there are many borderline cases. Peter Andrew Howarth (1996) claims that "delexical constructions are restricted and claims that their identification depends on the semantic nature of the verb and the object noun and the equivalence of the construction to another construction which is similar in a syntactic form" (Howarth 1996, 94). He suggested four criteria that can be applied in the classification of delexical verbs:

I. Existence of equivalent lexical verb:

The term 'equivalent' here allows for a derivation process in both directions (from the verb to the noun or from the noun to the verb) and for the existence of a verb + noun structure with a verb of equivalent meaning as in examples: *make an attempt* ↔ *attempt*, *make a progress* ↔ *progress*, *make a claim* ↔ *claim* and the arrows denote the possibility of such a transformation:

(1.6) *But I make no attempt to smile as before.* (CL1T)

(1.7) *If that was to make an impression on me, so that I would offer you my table companionship out of fellow-feeling, I can only assure you that you haven't succeeded.* (FC1T)

Sometimes a specific preposition is part of the verb + noun construction and may also be attached to the intransitive verb (e.g. *make contact with* ↔ *contact with*):

(1.8) *You will be able to make your own assessment of Hilary Roberts and compare the portrait with the woman.* (PDJ3)

(1.9) *Make a start with St. Mark's Gospel.* (PDJ3)

II. Existence of equivalent copula + morphologically-related adjective like: *take care* ↔ *be careful*.

III. Abstract and mass noun object: *make contact with*, *make provision of* :

(1.10) *With the door in the closed position the plunger would enter the socket and make a contact.* (FF1)

The more abstract the noun is the smaller is the chance for conveying the initial, original

sense of the verb, which in the case of make is 'create'.

IV. Object noun in figurative sense: *make an appearance, make representations to, make strides*:

(1.11) *Possibly, if he had become a politician, he might not have had any other contribution to make.* (KH1T)

According to Howarth (1996), the existence of one of the characteristics numbered 1- 4, listed above, is sufficient to identify the verbs listed above as delexical, though in some cases two or more of such characteristics may be present in one construction. In my opinion, the existence of the second feature alone is not enough to regard the verb as delexical. As a result, I shall disregard such cases from my study.

Out of pragmatic reasons I shall stick to the term *delexical verbs or delexical verb constructions* throughout my study.

What is also of great importance here is that the delexical verb construction has several subvarieties and related constructions. In its simplest form, the eventive noun presents the same form as the verb but its' function changes: e.g. *to contact – make contact* (where the noun is historically derived from the verb):

(1.12) *Making contact with this Wild Man is the step the Eighties male or the Nineties male has yet to take.* (ROB1)

(1.13) *Å oppnå kontakt med denne Villmannen er det stadiet mannen av i dag står foran.* (ROB1T)

and *to peace – make peace* (where the noun is historically derived from the noun) (Algeo, cited in Aarts and Meyer 1995: 205). What may differentiate such a verb pair is a so-called modulation¹ or phonetic modification² (Algeo 1995: 205) e.g.

- *protést – make a prótest*:

(1.14) *He tried to make no protest, but walked obediently along the shore promenade*

¹ change of prosodic phonemes

² change of segmental phonemes

with the shoes in his hand. (OEL1T)

(1.15) *Han forsøkte ikke engang å protestere, men gikk lydig langs strandpromenaden med skoene i hånden.* (OEL1)

Another way to do it is 'affixation'³:

- *compare – make a comparison:*

(1.16) *We can make a comparison to painting.* (JG1T)

(1.17) *Vi kan kanskje sammenligne med en kunstmaler.* (JG1)

- *bevege seg – gjøre en bevegelse:*

(1.18) *Det lød så hverdagslig enkelt, som å vri nakken om på en kylling, og da hun fortalte meg det, gjorde hun igjen den lille bevegelsen med hånden.* (FC1)

(1.19) *It sounded so ordinary and so simple — like wringing a chicken's neck — and when she told me this, she made that little movement with her hand again.* (FC1T)

1.3 Previous work.

My study was inspired by the research on English *make* and Swedish *göra* carried out by Bengt Altenberg (2001) and described in his paper titled *Contrasting delexical English make and Swedish göra*. This study is based on two assumptions. The first one is that the languages can be compared, and that the two verbs in question are similar. The latter one stems from the source-determination hypothesis which assumes that “lexical items with similar meanings are likely to develop in similar ways in the same contexts” (Gronemeyer, 2003; cited in Jofrid Sørvoll, 2005). I assume that *make* and *gjøre* are close enough in meaning to be comparable. They are not cognates since they do not share a common ancestor but they share central meanings and are thus close correspondences of each other. That is why, the source determination hypothesis can be relevant for such close correspondences, i.e. they will share many, but not all, meanings and uses. At the same time, I shall keep in mind observations

³In the case of 'comparison', '-ison' is an example of a derivational affix that creates a new lexeme which is listed separately in a dictionary. It changes the word's grammatical category, in this case from the verb to the noun.

made by Åke Viberg (1996) on cognate verbs : “Cognates often correspond to one another in rather complex ways if all the potential meanings or uses are taken into consideration. I am thinking in particular of highly frequent words with many meanings (or a very abstract general meaning) such as the cognates *go/gå* and *give/gi* in English and Swedish” (Åke Viberg 1996: 151). Åke Viberg further observes that there are usually important semantic differences between cognates in relatively closely related languages such as English and Swedish. I may presume that that will also be the case with the verbs in my research question.

Apart from that, I would like to investigate whether my results would correspond to those obtained by Altenberg in his paper *Contrasting delexical English make and Swedish göra*. The aim of it was to estimate the scope of correspondence between the two verbs in the research question as reflected in the ENPC of source texts and translations. Altenberg presented and illustrated the different uses of delexical constructions made by translators. One of the first striking findings was that delexical verbs are overused in translations. Apart from that, these constructions are only used as translation equivalents in less than a third of the examples. This study serves as the source for my research when it comes to the plan of the investigation process and the comparison of results.

Altenberg, together with Granger, carried out other study of *make* in 2001, presented it in a paper titled *The grammatical and lexical patterning of 'make' in Native and Non-native student writing*. This study aimed at an investigation of the kind of difficulties that students have with high frequency verbs like *make* by comparing authentic French and Swedish EFL learners' data with native speaker data in the ICLE (International Corpus of Learner English) database and the Locness Corpus respectively. It proved that the verb *make* is highly overused by both Swedish and French EFL learners. However, they also found that at the same time the delexical sense of *make* is significantly underused more often by both groups of learners than by the natives. According to Sinclair (1991), “many learners avoid the common verbs as much as possible, especially where they make up idiomatic phrases” (cf. Altenberg, Granger, 2001).

What is more, authors of this article demonstrate that these kinds of constructions are also misused and that they constitute the majority of learner errors with *make* in the corpus. This observation adds another interesting and important aspect to the whole study. They provide some examples like:

(1.20) *We have to make a balance between material comfort and pleasure.* (FR)

(1.21) *When man makes a step, he wants to go further...* (FR) (Altenberg, Granger 2001: 176)

Researchers observe that the overuse of *make* may result from the influence of the mother tongue: “The tendency towards overuse may be reinforced where the learner’s mother tongue is a Germanic one like Norwegian or Swedish, because of the L1 transfer” (Källkvist, 1999; cited in Altenberg, Granger, 2001). Apart from that *make* belongs to a group of high-frequency and core words that “are learnt early, are widely usable and above all safe (because they do not show up as errors)” (Hasselgren, 1994; cited in Altenberg, Granger, 2001).

One of my research tasks then will be to compare my results with those of Altenberg and Granger. The question here arises: will my results present any similarities or differences?

Another study by Dura and Gawronska aimed at making readers aware of the importance of the knowledge on collocations for human language learners, human translators, and for NLP-applications, such as Machine Translation or Information Extraction. “Phrases with support verbs are very frequent and pose serious problems for Machine Translation, since, in many cases, the support verb should not be translated by the default equivalent of the “heavy” sense of the verb” (Dura and Gawronska 2005: 2). They concluded that the current representation of phrases with support verbs in electronic dictionaries is not sufficient, which creates confusion: “The problem is not in the lack of language-specific collocation dictionaries (Mel’cuk et al. 1984, 1988), Benson et al. (1986), Kjellmer (1994), but the shortage of multilingual resources, where collocations would be linked to their equivalents in a way that would be linguistically consistent and easily accessible for both human users and Natural Language Processing systems” (cf. Dura and Gawronska 2005: 1). They suggested that there should be links between nouns and verbs, something that would make it possible to distinguish between the regular uses of a verb and its delexical function in automatic text processing. The work of Dura and Gawronska was presented as a step towards a better representation of collocational links for the purpose of NLP applications like Machine Translation or Information Extraction.

1.4 The semantics of *make* and *gjøre*.

The verb *make* is a characteristic lexeme in English, it has a high frequency and very complex uses. It expresses a variety of meanings and enters into various kinds of structures (Algeo 1995: 177).

When it comes to the etymology, the earliest known use of this verb comes from Middle Low German *māken*, and Old High German *mahhōn* (Middle High German *machen*, German *machen*). Old Swedish *maka*, which meant to make or construct and Danish *mage*, which meant to manage or arrange, are from Middle Low German as well. Old Icelandic *maka*, to make (rare) is from Middle Low German or another West Germanic language. Further etymology is uncertain.

Old English *macian* and *gemacian* (which continued into Middle English as *imake*) are much less common than DO v. (which is also the word most commonly used to translate Latin *facere*), *gewyrcean* I-WURCHE v., and *wyrcean* WORK v. In Old English, senses of *make* like:

- *to produce (a material thing) by a combination of parts, or by giving a certain form to a portion of matter; to manufacture; to construct, assemble, frame, fashion,*
- *then to cause to be, to render,*
- *and to appoint to the office of; to raise to the dignity of; to create (a person) a noble, etc., appear to be the most common uses (OED).*

Development of senses within English was affected by various secondary borrowings and influences, e. g. from senses of Latin *facere* and *fieri*, however no attempt has been made to document these influences accurately (OED).

In the case of *gjøre*, its basic meaning is described by Bjorvand and Lindeman (2000) as “utføre, lage, skape”. When it comes to its etymology:

“Verbets germ. Grunnform var *garwijan-, og de kjente betydningene er bl.a. “gjøre (ferdig), stelle i stand, (til)berede, utstyre; koke, (be)kle”, (...) Ved ty. *gerben* “garve” (med -b- < -w- etter -r-) er betydningen innsnevret til å gjelde tilberedelse av lær. Det samme gjelder også ndty. *garwen* (*gerwen*) som er lånt inn i no., da. *garve*, sv. *Garva*. (...) Verbet opfattes av mange, jf. f. eks. DEO (169), som en avledning av det germ. adjektivet *garwa- “ferdig, rede, tilberedt” (...)” (Bjorvand, Lindeman 2000: 303).

It is worth mentioning that these kinds of constructions are also found in other languages, however, they are not comparably frequent nor versatile as they are in English (Algeo 1995; as cited in Aarts and Meyer 1995: 204). What is more, those constructions appear to be increasing in use nowadays (Nickel, 1968; as cited in Aarts and Meyer 1995: 204). Algeo (1995) claims that this phenomenon was triggered by the loss of inflections marking parts of speech in Old English and Middle English, which allowed a more liberal conversion of verbs into nouns. His example is the verb like ‘læðan’ ‘to hate’ (as in *Gif hwelc cymip to me and me ne lædes fæder his*, ‘If anyone comes to me and does not hate his father’ cited in Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *læðan*) that corresponded to the delexical verb construction like *lædde habban*

to ‘to have hate for’ (as in *Dæt ærest is ðæt man to aðrum læððe hæbbe*, ‘The first [sort of murder] is that a person have hate for another’, cited in Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *hæbban*) (cf. Aarts and Meyer 1995: 204).

The verb *gjøre* is presented in a dictionary (*Ordnett.no*) as being polysemic, similarly to *make*, and its meanings are listed under the main heading:

1. *drive med – to do*
2. *handle – to do*
3. *lage – to make*
4. *skape – make, create, render*
5. *få til å bli – make*
6. *utfyllende verb som i: Forstår du? - Ja, det gjør jeg.*
7. *bese – do, see*

As we can see, the sense of *gjøre* is rendered as *make* in as many as three cases and the rest is related to other meanings of *make* as well.

When it comes to the semantics of the word *make*, it shows polysemy as it has more than one distinct, established sense (Cruse 2006: 133). The multiple senses of *make* are related in some way and polysemous readings are distinguished by means of numbers under a single main heading in dictionaries. The meanings are also ranked in this way with the reference to their importance.

The prototypical and literal meaning of *make* involves the concept of creation or construction of something material by one participant: *make a scratch, make a mark, make a call, make copies*:

(1.22) *What are you doing now, says mother, don't make a mess of that beautiful carpet.* (BV2T)

(1.23) *While she is putting away the clothes, the boys come in and make a noise around her and rummage for slices of bread and cheese in the kitchen.* (BV2T)

(1.24) *I didn't make any more calls.* (GS1T)

(1.25) *Like other Dutch artists of his time, he had students make copies of his paintings, which he sold.* (JH1)

Make is closely synonymous with *do*, a verb clearly suggesting processes of creation, in expressions like e.g. *make a decision/a mistake/a suggestion/a comment/an appointment/a contribution/ an entrance/ a start*:

- (1.26) *He wouldn't say a word, didn't make a single confession.* (GS1T)
- (1.27) *There was no rush, for the time being at least, to make a decision, but it wouldn't hurt to start trying to persuade her.* (EHA1T)
- (1.28) *What I manage to scribble down of course won't be enough to make an impression.* (JM1T)

Make may also convey the meanings of causing a state, a situation or gradual change of state e. g. *make clear, make contrast, make look, make feel, make trouble, make a difference, make a change, make a friend, make bankrupt*:

- (1.29) *They do it so nicely there and it would make a pleasant change.* (EG2T)
- (1.30) *But it wouldn't make much difference.* (JM1T)
- (1.31) *In four plays by Aristophanes, *The Clouds*, *The Wasps*, *The Birds*, and *The Frogs*, allusions make clear that Socrates was familiar enough for jokes about him to be understood by the general population.*
- (1.32) *He'll make friends.* (NG1)

Apart from the literal usages, figurative ones are very common. Expressions like *make an impression, make a profit, make a record* exemplify metaphorical usages of *make* but still contain the core sense of creation, the direct objects in these cases are abstract entities:

- (1.33) *That means buses don't, on the whole, make profits.* (FW1)

There are some idiomatic usages as well:

- (1.34) *Pete wanted to make a killing, and an idea hatched was already in his own estimation a killing made, concrete and cherished.* (JSM1)

When interpreting the meaning being conveyed one should be aware of some exceptions. Namely, the noun heads in eventive objects are not always derived from verbs. There are exceptions e.g. there is no verb *effort*, although *an effort* is an eventive object in *I'm making an effort*. Other examples are: *make fun (of)*, *make peace (with)*, *make war (on)*:

- (1.35) *She has the feeling that they are making fun of it all, that they can afford to make fun of it too.* (BV2T)

(1.36) *I'd thought I might masturbate, make peace with everyone, rid myself of the seamy suspicions about the people I held in esteem.....* (KF2T)

In some cases, the verb is not normally used intransitively: *I made a mistake/an attempt/a correction:*

(1.37) *He did not even make an attempt to move.* (OEL1T)

What is more, it often happens that the construction in question has equivalents in the form of a single verb. However, some of the combinations do not have the same meaning as the verb alone, e.g.: *make love (to) – love* , *make a difference – differ*. Contrast:

(1.38) *We make love.* (CL1T)

(1.39) *Vi elsker.* (CL1)

We can observe that the interpretation of the meaning of *make* and *gjøre* in such constructions often depends on pragmatic factors. Hence, the theoretical approach is monosemantic and the verbs and their semantics shall be described separately in chapter IV and V.

We can conclude that the semantics of *gjøre* and *make* are very similar. Both of them convey several meanings, which most often have to do with the concept of creation or construction. As both verbs are pretty general and common and may be part of different kinds of combinations and constructions, I shall try to present the role the two verbs play in the delexical verb constructions in the next chapters. What is more, initial observations show that the two verbs may also come into constructions with more specific meanings, which I will discuss in detail in later chapters as well. But in order to find if *make* and *gjøre* are equivalents as delexical verb constructions, I need to study the different uses of those two verbs when used in a delexical verb construction. “These uses can be first distinguished by means of syntactic criteria and then by means of semantic and pragmatic criteria” (Ramnös 2003, as cited in Aijmer and Hasselgård 2004: 43).

1.5 Material and method.

1.5.1 On the use of corpora in linguistic studies.

“Language comparison is of great interest in a theoretical as well as applied perspective. It reveals what is general and what is language specific and is therefore important both for the understanding of language in general and for the study of individual languages compared” (Johansson and Hofland, 1994: 25).

This quotation needs no explanation. In the face of the changes taking place in society nowadays, the role of contrastive linguistics is steadily increasing.

The machine-readable bilingual text corpora offer easy access to a large amount of genuine language for research from different types of register. The way such data can be searched for has also been greatly improved. Aijmer and Altenberg (1996) summarize the reasons for using corpora in linguistic research like this:

- they give new insights into the languages compared – insights that are likely to be unnoticed in studies of monolingual corpora;
- they can be used for a range of comparative purposes and increase our knowledge of language-specific, typological and cultural differences, as well as of universal features;
- they illuminate differences between source texts and translations, and between native and non-native texts;
- they can be used for a number of practical applications, e.g. in lexicography, language teaching and translations. (Aijmer and Altenberg 1996, as cited in Johansson and Oksefjell 1998: 4).

A few more general observations on the use of corpora can be added here. First of all, as I mentioned before, the material used in the corpora is authentic. This means that the texts are not produced in order to be included in the corpus but for the purpose of an ordinary communication. Secondly, the texts used are usually accompanied by additional information about a language like: tagging (information on word classes), parsing (information on syntactic functions) and other kinds of information, which makes the corpus a better source of linguistic information. Another special advantage is that the corpora have search tools so that the results of the search are displayed in a useful manner to the linguist. What is more, big amounts of data can be stored, retrieved, shared and searched within a short time. In certain

cases, the search carried out by processing electronic texts is more accurate than the one carried out by ocular scan. And at last, like my study, searches based on a corpus are replicable and the explanations provided through them can be tested on other corpora as well (handout, CA, ENG4107).

Corpora can also be used in linguistic research as a source of examples to illustrate certain observations, theoretical points or tendencies found in qualitative analysis, or, it may be used, as in the case of this thesis, as a 'population' or collection of data to carry out research on a particular linguistic item. This kind of research involves both quantitative and qualitative analysis, where the first one means simply counting the linguistic feature in a corpus, its frequency and distribution, which makes me a so-called field, computational and corpus linguist, and where the latter one is concerned with the significance of those counts, which means the interpretation and analysis of those counts (Meyer 2002: 122). It may also be called a microscopic and macroscopic analysis respectively.

I can sum up by saying that, as a descriptive and a functional linguist, that is concerned with using corpora for linguistic research, I aim at an accurate, text-based description of usage of the two verbs in the research question, including possible variation.

My study exemplifies how the disciplines of Contrastive Linguistics (CL), at first called Contrastive Analysis, converges with Translation Studies (TS), which was advantaged by the emergence of corpora. Mona Baker was the one who pioneered this corpus-based trend in translation studies in the early 90s by establishing the agenda for corpus-based TS and by collecting corpora of translated texts with the aim of discovering the distinguishing patterns of translation. She is responsible for specifying so called 'translation universals' (Sylviane Granger 2003; cited in Granger et al., 2003). However, Sara Laviosa was the first to define this new area of study which she termed Corpus-Based Translation Studies (CTS) (Granger 2003; cited in Granger et al., 2003). Many other linguists at that time, for example Holmes (1988), were not satisfied with the introspective methods and preferred the use of huge collections of translated texts as a more reliable empirical basis for research (Holmes, 1988; cited in Granger et al., 2003). For the purpose of comparison, it is worth mentioning that a Chomskyan linguist would use another method for the 'population' of his data. Namely, he or she would obtain it through a so-called 'introspection', the collecting of data based on the linguist's own intuitions (Meyer 2002: 102). Many corpus linguists, however, regarded such 'contrived' evidence limiting and preferred linguistic corpus as a source of authentic evidence. This was one of the factors that accelerated the emergence of contrastive linguistics. Globalisation was another one as it focused people's attention on the importance of

interlingual and intercultural communication. And last, but not least, the rapid development of corpus linguistics and natural language processing have also contributed to the emergence of CL (Granger 2003; cited in Granger et al., 2003).

Despite the great progress, the use of corpora has got its many supporters as well as opponents. Gellerstam underlines the importance of being critical when using translations in contrastive studies (Aijmer, Altenberg, Johansson 1996: 13). Translation corpora are inevitable in establishing the level of equivalence between languages as they convey the same semantic content, however, there are some drawbacks. One of them is that corpora may display traces of the source text, so called “translationese” i.e, structures transferred from the source language, which cannot really be considered as reliable data as regards the target language, especially when it comes to the distribution (Granger 2003; cited in Granger et al., 2003). Some questions than arise when using translation corpora: are we testing the translators performance?, what about infelicitous translations?, how do we know how normal the translator's behavior is?

With reference to this feature, comparable corpora present a reliable source of material since they represent original texts in two or more languages under comparison, i.e, languages produced naturally by native speakers of those languages. They are therefore free from the influence of other languages. This is not the case with translation corpora as the original source text is in a different language and will influence the target text to some degree. Comparable corpora, however, are not completely safe neither. Occasionally, it is difficult to establish comparability of texts as the corpora do not match in terms of genre and situational factors at all times, which results from the fact that some types of texts are culture-specific and simply have no exact equivalent in other languages (Aijmer, Altenberg, Johansson, 1996:14).

1.5.2 The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus.

Finding the appropriate material involves choosing the appropriate corpus. Taking into consideration the observations and the problems presented in the previous chapter, a combination of two types of corpora i.e, translation and comparable corpora seems to be the best option. Aijmer and Altenberg describe the ENPC project which aimed at creating a bilingual corpora consisting of two subcorpora, one with bi-directional translations and one

with parallel texts and at carrying out cross-linguistic research on the basis of these corpora (Aijmer, Altenberg, Johansson, 1996: 14).

Several studies have been carried out on the ENPC and its sister project, the ESPC, showing the usefulness of a bilingual corpus for contrastive studies: Åke Viberg, Mats Johansson, Hilde Hasselgård, Lars Ahrenberg and Magnus Merkel (Aijmer, Altenberg, Johansson, 1996: 15). As I have mentioned before, a broad range of phenomena have been or are being investigated with the use of the ENPC, e.g. the use of individual verbs (*bli*, *få*, *take*, *see*), modality, particular syntactic constructions, connectives and discourse relations. The question arises: what features of this corpus model allow for a contrastive linguistic analysis?

The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus is a bi-directional translation corpus with translations going both ways: English to Norwegian and Norwegian to English. This kind of structure makes it a translation and comparable corpus, which allows for comparisons of different kinds. Figure 1 below shows the schematic structure of the core corpus. The main parts of the corpus are indicated by the four boxes, and the lines between them show the main types of studies that can be carried out:

- contrastive studies based on parallel original texts (the diagonal line in Figure 1);
- contrastive studies based on original texts and their translations, going from source text to translation and/or from translation to source text (horizontal lines in Figure 1);
- various types of translation studies, e.g. focusing on (a) translation problems viewed from either language (horizontal lines in Figure 1), (b) deviations of translated texts as compared with original texts in the same language (vertical lines in Figure 1), and (c) general features of translated texts (the broken diagonal line in Figure 1) (Altenberg 2001: 198).

The size of the boxes in Figure 1 is equal in terms of the number of texts, which indicates that the corpus is balanced.

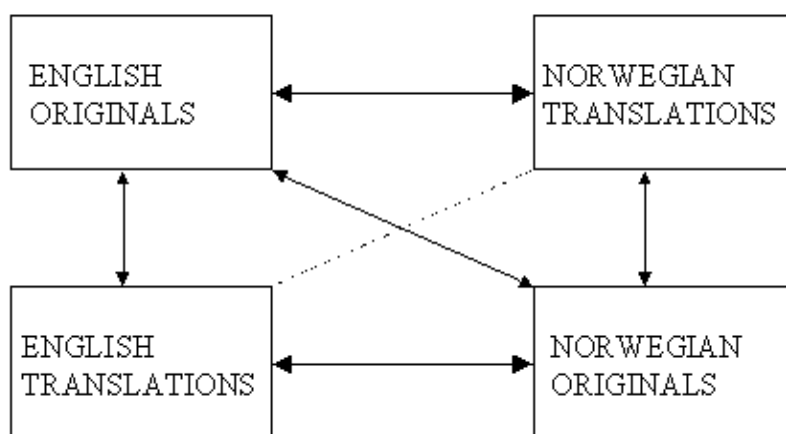


Fig. 1-1 The model of the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus.

The corpus texts have been divided into fiction and non-fiction texts. There are 50 original texts from each language and their translations (English-Norwegian and Norwegian-English), 30 of which are fiction and 20 of which are non-fiction. Each text is an extract of 10,000-15,000 words. The source texts from the two languages have been well matched in terms of purpose, subject matter and register, which means that the corpus is balanced and it can be treated as both a 'comparable corpus' and a 'translation corpus' (Altenberg 2001).

Table 1-1. In total, there are 100 original texts and 100 translated texts, amounting to some 2.6 million words.

	Original texts		Translated texts	
	English	Norwegian	English	Norwegian
Fiction	30	30	30	30
Non-fiction	20	20	20	20
Total texts	50	50	50	50
Total number of words	671,700	629,900	699,400	661,500

What is more, several features have been introduced into the model of the ENPC which advantaged the possibility of analyses of the material. One of them is the alignment of the originals and translations. Knut Hofland developed a software, an automatic alignment program called the Translation Corpus Aligner (Johansson 2004: 67). After this process, each sentence in the original texts got an identifier and a pointer that matches it to the corresponding sentence in the other language. This special coding makes it possible to retrieve corresponding units, or so-called translation pairs, from originals and translations. Next, the mark-up contains also header information (author, translator, year of publication, etc.) Thirdly, the texts in the corpus have also been grammatically tagged with the use of a constraint grammar parser. As a result, each word form has a prefix that specifies the lemma and provides information on word class, which allows for search for lemmas⁴. A special program, called the Translation Corpus Explorer, was created with that aim by Jarle Ebeling (Johansson 2004: 68).

What is more, the fact that the corpus methodology is not tied to any particular linguistic theory, a range of versatile theoretical approaches are possible here. Aijmer and Altenberg (1996) sum up that grammatical phenomena seem to be easiest to research on in this corpus which indicates that it is well suited for my research.

There are, however, some limitations of the ENPC that should be taken into consideration when carrying out the research process. Firstly, only texts that have actually been translated across the two languages are available for research. Secondly, there is just one translation for each text so it is not possible to study the degree of variation in translation. Thirdly, only explicit and quite frequently occurring items can be retrieved from the corpus. What is more, the corpus has not been syntactically annotated, or parsed, in other words, so it is not possible to search for syntactic functions like, e.g., grammatical constructions. And lastly, the ENPC has been proofread but it does not exclude tagging errors or infelicitous and less successful translations (handout CA, ENG 4107).

⁴ base forms of words and all their forms

1.5.3 The methodology and limitations.

Once I have defined the theory and the key terms, it was necessary for me to decide what grammatical information was to be extracted from the corpus and then determine how to save this data. The material for my research was extracted by obtaining all occurrences of the lemma *make* (in the English original texts and translations) and the lemma *gjøre* (in the Norwegian original texts and translations) in the ENPC. In case of *make*, the search in the ENPC was done by ticking off the lemma feature in the search window. The same could not be done with the Norwegian translations as they were not grammatically tagged. In such a situation one needs to introduce all the grammatical forms of *gjøre* into the search line: *gjøre/gjorde/gjort/gjøres/gjør* as in Figure 1-2. The preselected excerpts were examined manually. When that was done, I excluded all examples that did not fit the description of a delexical construction, which had to be done manually.

Enter search:	<i>gjøre/gjorde/gjort/gjøres/gjør</i>		
Find s-unit:	<input type="text"/>		
	ENPC/Fiction <input type="button" value="v"/>	English <input type="button" value="v"/>	Original <input type="button" value="v"/>
Options:	Hide tags: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		Direct speech: <input type="checkbox"/>
	Position: <input type="text" value="0"/>		Context: <input type="text" value="0"/> / <input type="text" value="0"/>
	Number of hits to display per page: <input type="button" value="Default"/> <input type="button" value="v"/>		
	Sort output by matched word: <input type="checkbox"/>		
and/not +/- <filter>	<input type="text"/>		
	<input type="text"/>		
and/not <filter>	<input type="text"/>		
	<input type="text"/>		
<input type="button" value="Submit search"/>			

Fig. 1-2 A search for lemma *make* in the tagged ENPC.

When it comes to the limitations, I am going to compare only the two verbs: *make* and

gjøre. This means that when searching for the occurrences of the equivalents of the verb *make* I do not take into consideration other equivalents of it like *do*, *cause*, *render* etc., except as translation correspondences of *gjøre*. The same concerns the Norwegian verb *gjøre* and its equivalents like *dikte opp*, *fabrikat*, *fabrikkere*, *lage*, *utgjøre* etc., except as translation correspondences of *make*.

1.5.4 The handling of the data.

After retrieving the material from the ENPC with the use of the search program called Translation Corpus Explorer I received all sentences containing a form of *make* and *gjøre* (viz. *make*, *makes*, *making*, *made*; *gjøre*, *gjør*, *gjort*, *gjøres*). In order to further the analysis of the data by computer I needed to import the translation pairs into a database software program called FileMakerPro. This program enables one to design a task template and customize it accordingly to one's needs by adding new fields in the dialogue box and storing the data in an organized way.

As shown in figure 1-3, the information is being provided for both the source sentences and for the translations so each sentence pair can be viewed at the same time. The main slots are common for both of them. These are:

- Original/Translation – the actual sentence is cited, e.g. the original sentence:

He seems ready to make his escape, or Det virker som om han er klar til å rømme.

- Codeen - each sentence is marked with its own code, e.g. E200 (English sentence, example number 200)
- Text id. – code used in the corpus to identify the text sample which the sentence is taken from (EnText id. and NoText id.). The code of the original sentence looks like that: ABR1; and the code of the translation sentence looks like that: ABR1T.
- E. object – type of the eventive object in the delexical verb construction
- Syntax – syntactic category, e.g. intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive.
- Syntax Corresp. – type of translation as one of the syntactic categories of correspondences that are outlined in the second chapter. Here it is a single verb type of correspondence to the English original sentence.
- Source text – states if the text is original or a translation in the source material.

- Register – the genre of the text.
- Text type – states exactly the type of the text: law, religion, geography etc.

Originalen	He seems ready to make his escape.	Translationno	Det virker som om han er klar til å rømme.
Codeen	E 200		
Text id	ABR1	Text id no	ABR1T
E.E. object	Deverbal noun	N.E. object	not applicable
E.Syntax	Delexical verb construction	Syntax Corresp.	Single verb construction
Register	Fiction	Register	Fiction
Source text	Originals	Target text	Translations
Text type	FG	Text type	FG

Fig. 1-3 A sample of database entry in FileMakerPro.

As we can see there is one additional slot to fill in which is relevant only for the translation examples; one that identifies the type of translation; its syntactic form. What is more, some slots are relevant only for some examples. As in the example shown in figure no. 1-3, the eventive object slot is not applicable for the translation sentence in Norwegian because it is a single verb correspondence so it does not have an eventive object.

During this process, the exclusion of the irrelevant cases took place which, as I mentioned before, was done manually (see chapter 2 section 2.6). This search yielded 1470 cases of *make* in the Fiction, original texts. Below are the results of the search before and after removing the irrelevant cases.

Table 1-2. Frequency of delexical *make* and *gjøre* before the selection in fiction and non-fiction, in original texts and translations.

	Original texts, Fiction	Translations, Fiction	Original texts, Non-fiction	Translations, Non-fiction	Total
Make	926	889	527	542	2884
Gjøre	1470	1962	543	809	4784
	2396	2851	1070	1351	7668

Table 1-3. Frequency of delexical *make* and *gjøre* after the selection in fiction and non-fiction, in original texts and translations.

	Original texts, Fiction	Translations, Fiction	Original texts, Non-fiction	Translations, Non-fiction	Total
Make	245	237	169	216	867
Gjøre	105	142	80	82	409
	350	379	249	298	1276

The comparison of the two tables reveals interesting statistics when it comes to the two verbs in the research question both in and outside of the delexical verb constructions.

First of all, the search of the lemma *gjøre* yielded almost twice as many cases as the search of the lemma *make*, 4784 against 2884. It means that the verb *gjøre* is much more common and has a stronger position in the Norwegian language than *make* has in the English language. However, the verb *make* is much more frequent than *gjøre* when used in delexical verb constructions. The table reflects also the differences in the sizes between the different types of texts, namely, non-fiction texts are shorter and so they contain fewer cases of utterances with *make* and *gjøre*.

Secondly, when comparing the tables 1-2 and 1-3, we can conclude that only 16.6 % (around 1/6) of all the cases retrieved from the ENPC before the selection are utterances

containing delexical verb constructions, which is not many. A further interpretation of those tables is presented in the third chapter.

1.6 Plan of the study.

In order to place the findings in broader theoretical and descriptive context, the study is organized as follows. Chapter I gives a brief summary of approaches to contrastive linguistics, the delexical verb construction and the methodology used. Chapter II provides a theoretical framework and describes the material chosen for the research. Chapter III looks at the status of the delexical construction from a comparative point of view and discusses the data concerning distribution obtained from the research material. The investigation process starts here and it is divided into a few stages. First, I shall have a look at the frequency of *make* and *gjøre* both in original texts and in the translations, then in fiction and non-fiction and comment on it. Next, I shall focus on the types of correspondences of the two verbs, which are divided into 4 categories and compare their frequencies and uses (Altenberg, 2001). In other words, I shall have a closer look at the Norwegian equivalents of *make* and English equivalents of *gjøre* and compare the constructions they represent and their uses in different texts. It will help me prepare a more precise semantic representation of those constructions in chapters IV and V and examine frameworks that have been proposed to account for the use of delexical construction or their correspondences in both languages. As mentioned before, the status of this construction in a variety of languages has been the subject of much discussion and so it will be useful to consider my data in relation to that. Chapter VI summarizes the findings and provides an evaluation of all the research. In this chapter I shall evaluate whether my choices concerning the material, the methodology and theory used were correct and what results I managed to achieve. Based on that, I shall see if I was able to prove my hypothesis right and provide the answers to my research questions.

2. Classification of the data.

The current chapter provides an overview of the syntactic classification scheme used for the equivalents of delexical *gjøre*, which the further analysis will be based on. It is a scheme created by Altenberg (2001) in his study on English *make* and Swedish *göra* and can be applied in my research as well, and it is supported by the description of delexical and multi-word verb constructions in Quirk et al. (1985), Allan (1998), Howarth (1996) and Altenberg (2001). I shall present each category in a separate section and they will be illustrated by examples taken from the ENPC. English examples are followed by the Norwegian ones. In some cases, Norwegian examples were not provided as I have not come across any appropriate cases in the extracted material.

The equivalents of verbs in question were classified into categories according to what kind of constructions they are. Both English and Norwegian make it possible for *make* and *gjøre* respectively to be translated into different kinds of corresponding constructions. When it comes to Norwegian delexical *gjøre*, its correspondences may be classified according to the same classification scheme as for English delexical *make*.

It is important to keep in mind that we are dealing here with a twofold classification. The first one refers to cases that can be classified as delexical constructions and the second one refers to the classification of the correspondences of the mentioned constructions.

2.1 Syntactic categories of cross-linguistic correspondences.

I shall call the cross-linguistic equivalents ‘correspondences’: “a set of forms in the target text which are found to correspond to particular words or constructions in the source text; or the other way around: the set of forms in the source text which are found to correspond to particular words or constructions in the target text” (Johansson 2007: 23). The cross-linguistic correspondences of delexical constructions in the two languages are of the same main types. That is, they have four main types of equivalents in translation texts (table 3-5, 3-8). The equivalents are as listed below:

1. Congruent constructions with delexical *gjøre/make*.
2. A grammatically equivalent construction with another verb than *gjøre/make*.
3. A construction where the delexical combination has been replaced by a single verb.

4. Various other constructions/Ø-translations (Altenberg, 2001: 200).

2.1.1 Congruent correspondences.

A congruent correspondence denotes a construction that is syntactically and semantically equal, which, in this case, means that the Norwegian equivalent construction is the one that consists of a similar verb like *gjøre* and the eventive object that follows it:

(2.1) *Hvis det var for å gjøre inntrykk på meg, slik at jeg av medfølelse skulle tilby Dem mitt selskap her ved bordet, kan jeg bare fastslå at det var mislykket.* (FC1)

(2.2) *If that was to make an impression on me, so that I would offer you my table companionship out of fellow-feeling, I can only assure you that you haven't succeeded.*(FC1T)

(2.3) *Henry eksperimenterte også med å lese høyt for lekekameratene sine og gjorde den interessante oppdagelse at mens guttene gjerne sovnet av det, så pikene ut til å sette stor pris på det.* (RF1T)

(2.4) *Henry also experimented with reading aloud to his own playmates and made the interesting discovery that while this tended to put the boys to sleep, the girls seemed to enjoy it very much.* (RF1)

2.1.2 Other verb + Noun Phrase equivalent correspondences.

In this case, the equivalent construction is of the same syntactic form as the original, delexical construction and conveys the same meaning. The difference is in the main verb which is different from *gjøre*. This category represents more idiomatic uses of delexical constructions in the target language:

(2.5) *If it lay within her power, Yvette would never have to make the same disappointing decision that she herself had made.* (AB1)

(2.6) *Hvis det sto i hennes makt, skulle Yvette aldri behøve å ta den samme skuffende avgjørelsen som hun.* (AB1T)

(2.7) *Emma Goldmans foredrag gjorde utvilsomt et sterkt inntrykk på ham, og som myteskaper har han instinktivt gjort mest mulig ut av historien.* (RF1T)

(2.8) *Hearing Emma Goldman lecture undoubtedly had a great effect on him, and his instincts as a mythmaker would be to make as much out of the occasion as possible.*
(RF1)

2.1.3 Single verb constructions.

The lexical-grammatical construction in question has several subcategories and related constructions. “Most typically, equivalents of the single type will have the form of a single-word verb, where, in its simplest form, the eventive noun is a formally unaltered functional shift of the verb” (Algeo 1995: 205) e.g.:

- *to attempt – make an attempt*, in which the noun is derived from the verb. Compare examples (2.9) and (2.11) below:

(2.9) *This woman, in all her eccentricities and in her appearance, is almost impossible to describe, but I shall make some attempt to do so a little later on.* (RD1)

(2.10) *Denne høyst uvanlige og oppsiktsvekkende kvinnen er nesten umulig å beskrive, men jeg skal gjøre et forsøk litt lenger ut i historien.* (RD1T)

(2.11) *Which only set Nigel off more, and it was some time before he could attempt an explanation.* (JB1)

(2.12) *Noe som bare fikk Nigel til å le enda høyere, og det tok en god stund før han klarte å prøve seg på en forklaring.* (JB1T)

- *an effort – to make an effort*, in which object noun phrase denotes an activity without being derived from a verb:

(2.13) *Young Ben, at twelve, looked like his father, admired his father and made a special effort to be like his father.* (FW1)

(2.14) *Ung Ben på tolv så ut som sin far, beundret sin far og anstrengte seg ekstra mye*

for å bli lik sin far. (FW1T)

We can see that in case of Norwegian there is a single-word equivalent verb to the verb 'make an effort', which is 'å anstrenge seg' as in example (2.14), while 'anstrenge seg' can be rendered into few types of correspondences like in the examples below:

(2.15) *Hun anstrenger seg, hun er virkelig søkende etter kontakt.* (KF1)

(2.16) *She's making a special effort, really trying to make contact.* (KF1T)

(2.17) *Han måtte virkelig anstrenge seg for å kunne være oppmerksom på henne mens han låste opp døren: "Du bør gjøre noe med hagen," sa hun.* (OEL1)

(2.18) *He really had to exert himself to pay attention to her as he unlocked the door: "You ought to do something about the garden," she said.* (OEL1T)

(2.19) *Han anstrengte seg for å huske hva, men han visste at det var nytteløst om hun ikke satte ham på sporet.* (OEL1)

(2.20) *He strained to remember what it was, but he knew it would be useless unless she put him on the track.* (OEL1T)

(2.21) *Brita anstrengte seg for å få mønsteret nøyaktig og med samme jevnhet i fargen.* (BV1)

(2.22) *Brita strove to print clearly and with an even distribution of the ink.* (BV1T)

Apart from that, some cases may belong to a multi-word verb category like:

1. A phrasal verb, which consists of a lexical verb and an adverb particle as in the examples below. It may be transitive⁵ or intransitive (Quirk et al. 1985: 1152). Examples:

(2.21) *"When you have chosen the book you want, bring it to me so I can make a note of it and it 's yours for two weeks.* (RD1)

(2.22) *Når du har funnet den boka du vil låne, kan du bare ta den med bort til meg så*

⁵A main verb which requires an object to complete its meaning. If no object or complement follows, the verb is termed intransitive (Leech 2006: 114).

skal jeg skrive opp at du har lånt den, og så kan du beholde den i to uker. (RD1T)

(2.23) *When we discussed it before we decided to make individual approaches.* (DL2)

(2.24) *Da vi diskuterte det, så ble vi enige om å ta det opp med hver enkelt.* (DL2T)

(2.25) *Meksikanerne herjet og drepte og forsøkte å overta landet, men dinéene gjorde motstand.* (SH1)

(2.26) *The Mexicans plundered and killed and tried to take over the country, but the Diné fought back.* (SH1T)

2. A prepositional verb which consists of a lexical verb and a preposition with which it is semantically and/or syntactically associated (Quirk et al. 1985: 1155), e.g:

(2.27) *In some offices the architects omitted to make provision for bookshelves, so that these have had to be put up outside in the corridors, causing the walls to look paunchy and untidy and making the corridors even narrower than they were to start with.* (EG1T)

(2.28) *På noen av kontorene glemte arkitekten å tenke på bokhyller slik at disse måtte bygges ut i korridoren, noe som gjorde den trangere og fikk veggene til å virke høygravide.* (EG1)

(2.29) *Men de kom seg ikke rundt da heller, og måtte gjøre kunding.* (PEJ1)

(2.30) *But that didn't work either, and they had to come about.* (PEJ1T)

Phrasal verbs and prepositional verbs represent single semantic units, where the meaning cannot be predicted from the individual parts. Such multi-word verbs are often equivalent in meaning to single-word verbs (Biber et al. 1999: 403). Compare:

- *carry out – perform, undertake*
- *find out – discover*

Biber et al. (1999) mention that it is easy to confuse fixed multi-word verbs with the so-called free combinations, where each element has a distinct grammatical and semantic status. What is more, they show limited possibilities of substitution, which means that each element

cannot be replaced by a wide range of other words. They may often be described as idioms. In other words, they have become lexicalized as in example (2.32).

3. A phrasal-prepositional verb which contains, in addition to the lexical verb, both an adverb and a preposition as particles (Quirk et al. 1985: 1160):

(2.31) *The fishing industry had never been able to make all the necessary adjustments after the herring began to disappear.* (ABJH1T)

(2.32) *Fiskeindustrien hadde ikke tatt seg opp igjen etter at silda begynte å forsvinne.* (ABJH1)

According to Quirk et al. (1985), the combinations presented above are considered multi-word verbs only where they behave as single units, which means that they function as single grammatical units (Quirk et al. 1985: 1150).

According to Biber et al. (1999), there are three more kinds of constructions that belong to the category of multi-word combinations as presented below:

4. Verbs + NP combination (+ preposition) (Biber et al. 1999: 403):

(2.33) *On the other hand, I 'm not the sort to make a fuss about details in my surroundings.* (KF1T)

(2.34) *På den annen side er jeg ikke en type som legger så veldig stor vekt på detaljer omkring meg.* (KF1)

5. Verbs + prepositional phrase combinations (Biber et al. 1999: 403):

(2.35) *Reliving, mentally, the events of three days earlier, Andrew said "You'll have to make allowance for my having been a little dazed at the time."* (AH1)

(2.36) *Minnet om hendelsene tre dager tidligere fikk ham til å si: "Du må ta i betraktning at det gikk litt rundt for meg på det tidspunkt"* (AH1T)

6. Verb + verb: make do (Biber et al. 1999: 403).

According to Biber et al., all those categories belonging to the so called multi-word verb

constructions, are comprised of relatively idiomatic uses of the verbs and function like single verbs (Biber et al. 1999: 403). I shall regard those verbs as belonging to this category as well. Exceptions: *gjøre et poeng*, *gjøre en inntrykk* are included into the first category even though there is no verb *inntrykk*. This is also the case with the verb constructions like *make an effort*, *gjøre en inntogg*. They shall be included as they denote activities. Equivalent constructions of delexical *gjøre* like *komme med en bemerkning*, *komme med en bedømmelse*, shall be included into the category of multi-word constructions functioning as single verb correspondences.

2.1.4 Other constructions.

Despite its name and the fact that Altenberg (2001) calls this category a 'wastebasket category', this type of equivalents is quite systematic. Translations of this category could be divided into two main types. There are the 'no translations': instances where the whole sentence containing *make* or *gjøre* has not been included in the translations, and the 'rewritten translations': instances where the original has been rewritten to the extent that there is no verb that is seen to correspond directly to *make* in the translation. The majority of those cases in both languages contain a sort of reduced version of delexical construction where the verb is omitted while the noun is preserved in a NP or PP as will be shown in the examples below. Examples of 'no translations':

(2.37) *They do it so nicely there and it would make a pleasant change.*"(EG2T)

(2.38) (P) (EG2)

(2.39) *"Da kunne han gjøre en jobb for oss her".* (DL2T)

(2.40) (P) (DL2)

(2.41) *Jeg er Andrew takk skyldig for den klare og beskrivende måten han beskrev Daisyworld på i denne artikkelen ved å gjøre bruk av formaliserte matematiske uttrykk.* (JL1T)

(2.42) *I am indebted to Andrew for the clear, graphic way of expressing it in formal mathematical terms in this paper.* (JL1)

This latter type of other translations could further be divided into five subtypes:

1. Left-out: instances where the sentence containing *make* has been translated, but the part corresponding to *make* has been left out:

(2.43) *I was allowed to stay up quite late on Friday night — no school next day — and we 'd sit at the table in the kitchen after supper was cleared away, his great black eyes on me, encouraging, serious, crinkling into a smile back in their darkness, while I hesitated to make my move.* (NG1)

(2.44) *Siden lørdag var skolefri fikk jeg lov til å være oppe lenge fredag kveld, og så satt vi ved kjøkkenbordet etter at kveldsmaten var ryddet bort, de store mørke øynene hans hvilte på meg, oppmuntrende, alvorlige, men med et smil på lur mens jeg nølte foran mitt neste trekk.* (NG1T)

In example (2.41)/(2.42), there is a translation of the English verb phrase, except that it has been turned into a noun. Similarly, in (2.43)/(2.44), a Norwegian delexical construction corresponds to a nominal construction in the English original.

(2.45) *Hun sa: “De må ha gjort en feil en sted.”* (DL2T)

(2.46) *She said, “There must be a mistake.”* (DL2)

2. Nominalization: instances where *make* + complementation is rendered by a nominal in the translation:

(2.47) *They lay in their bed, listening to Luke make his baby noises next door, and decided not to say a word until after everyone had gone.* (DL1)

(2.48) *De lå i sengen, lyttet til Lukes babypludder i siderommet og bestemte seg for ikke å si et ord før alle var reist.* (DL1T)

(2.49) *De jublet mot henne og mente det, men de gjorde nok litt narr av henne også.* (DL2T))

(2.50) *They cheered her, meaning it, but there was mockery too.* (DL2)

3. Prepositional phrase: instances where *make* + complementation is rendered by a prepositional phrase in the translation:

(2.51) *His next move was to make a show of taking up Hebrew studies under the guidance of Dr Kraus: these were the years when pictures of Marx and Lenin used to hang in Israeli kibbutzes.* (BC1)

(2.52) *Hans neste trekk var å begynne, for syns skyld, å studere hebraisk under dr. Kraus' ledelse: i de årene hang bilder av Marx og Lenin i israelske kibbutzer.* (BC1T)

(2.53) *Heller spise en god lunsj, fryde seg over rikdommen, og så velge ut et stykke brie, et stykke cantal, kanskje peke ut en fin ananas, gjøre forberedelser til middag.* (AB1T)

(2.54) *Better to eat a good lunch, rejoicing in prosperity, and then to select a piece of Brie, a piece of Cantal, perhaps to point to a fine pineapple, in preparation for his evening meal.* (AB1)

4. Wrong translation: instances where the context makes it clear that the translator has misinterpreted the meaning of the original:

(2.55) *But Alice liked it when people made the mistake, and she said, "People often take us as brother and sister."* (DL2)

(2.56) *Men Alice likte godt at folk fikk dette inntrykket. "Vi blir ofte tatt for å være søsken," sa hun.* (DL2T)

5. Other: instances where other forms of rewriting occur; often involving a change of the perspective in going from the original to the translation (Sørvoll, 2005: 59).
Such cases are very rare and are context-dependent.

Apart from that, I have also decided to include idiomatic correspondences to this category as they do not fit any other category.

(2.57) *Most children begin Primary School at five or even just before, but Matilda's parents, who weren't very concerned one way or the other about their daughter's education, had forgotten to make the proper arrangements in advance.* (RD1)

(2.58) *De fleste barn begynner på skolen når de er fem år eller litt yngre, men foreldrene til Matilda var ikke altfor opptatt av hva slags utdannelse datteren deres skulle få, så de hadde helt glemt å melde henne inn i tide.* (RD1T)

(2.59) *Vil du gjøre lykke hos kvinden nu idag.* (LSC2)

(2.60) *“Do you want to be a hit with women nowadays.”* (LSC2T)

2.2 Borderline and excluded cases.

The starting point for my research was to investigate the relationship between a particular set of verbs - *make* and *gjøre* - across two languages. Having established the framework of possible similarities and differences between the verbs in question, I will use this section to have a look at how some of the cases obtained from the research material were classified as irrelevant to my study.

The classification process and the process of weeding out the irrelevant cases were of a manual nature and the latter one was done on the way.

Despite quite an accurate description of the category of delexical verbs, I encountered a number of problems during the process of classification of correspondent constructions in the target language.

As we have seen, the correspondences of both delexical *make* and *gjøre* belong predominantly to four main categories and most of them are clear cases of one of them. However, several constructions could be regarded as ‘in between’, borderline cases, as they do not fully fit into one of the given types or because the boundaries between the categories are not always sharp enough. We should keep in mind that according to Altenberg (2001), the most important criterion is that the object noun must express an event or activity. Some of such borderline cases will be discussed here.

Let's have a look first at what instances of expressions containing *make* were not included into my research. *Make certain* and *make sure* do not fit the description of the delexical construction as the eventive objects are adjectives. Hence, they are excluded from my study. They are related to verbs like *to ascertain* and *to assure* respectively and do not present the

same morphological form:

(2.61) *Often his tongue would creep cautiously round his mouth to make sure that his teeth were still there.* (AB1)

(2.62) *Megan set another wheatberry out, looked over to make certain I was watching and then languidly pulled it up with the tip of her tongue.* (TH1)

There are numerous examples like that in Norwegian, e.g.:

(2.63) *Fredag kveld har hun gjort rent I hele leiligheten.* (BV2)

(2.64) *Den som gjorde seg skyldig I ugudelighet, skulle for eksempel straffes med fem års fengsel.* (JH1T)

Other examples are: *gjøre ferdig, gjøre det godt, gjøre oppmerksom, gjøre seg bekjentet, gjøre klar* etc.

I have also come across a number of cases which look like delexical constructions but are not, because of the fact that the objects in the idiomatic verb object combinations are not eventive e.g. :

(2.65) *Fibich felt guilty about having made so much money so easily: that was his way.* (AB1)

(2.66) *He 'll make friends.* (NG1)

Other examples are: *make farewells, make a law, make a success, make a fortune, make time, make a secret (of sth), make a difficulty, make a pact, make a will, make a song, make a reputation, make a success, make documents, make a fire, make a name, make preserves, make a budget, make a will* etc.

Norwegian examples of that kind are represented by the example below:

(2.67) *Den klemte fingeren gjorde vondt at gutten ufrivillig dyppet den i kilden.*
(ROB1T)

Other examples are: *gjøre en omvei, gjøre bot, gjøre en pakt, gjøre alvor av, gjøre mirakler, gjøre en hemmelighet, gjøre vondt, gjøre seg flid, gjøre et levebrød, gjøre en dyd, gjøre hæververk, gjøre vantro, gjøre plikt, gjøre kur, gjøre karriere, gjøre forretninger, gjøre penger, gjøre omdreining*, etc.

All those expressions contain nouns that are quite abstract, which results in the fact that the constructions do not convey the initial meaning of *make* which is 'to create'. An interesting construction in this respect is *make way*. I have decided to include this case into my study as it is regarded as a delexical construction by e.g, Algeo (Algeo 1995: 207). There is no verb 'to way' though. Have a look at the sentence below:

(2.68) *Small clusters of people in the gloomy streets through which I made my way.* (ABR1)

Other interesting cases I have come across are expressions like: *make a (good) pimp* or *make a (good) brewer*. These constructions suggest that the person has the right qualities to perform the profession in question (*The Cobuild Dictionary*). Even though there exist verbs like 'to pimp' and 'to brew', the objects in the two constructions do not denote an activity and are thus not eventive objects. It is in accordance with the main criterion which is that the object noun must express an event or activity. Similarly:

(2.69) *Because of it, she might make the best witness.* (RR1)

In some instances, the eventive object does not carry the same meaning as the single-word verb that the noun is morphologically related to. In some such cases the noun object is derived from the noun and cannot be included into the category of delexical verbs. Let's compare *make a career* and *to career*. The first one denotes 'a job or profession that someone does for a long period of their life or the part of life that one spends working' and the latter one means 'to move fast and in an uncontrolled way' (*The Cobuild Dictionary*):

(2.70) *He was an agreeable enough young man, eager to make a career in "Five" and seeing his best chances of promotion as lying in a policy of hitching his waggon to the rising star of Brian Harcourt-Smith.* (FF1)

(2.71) *My hasting days fly on with full career* (Dictionary.com).

This may also be observed in the case of *make love* and *love*:

(2.72) *We make love.* (CL1T)

(2.73) *Vi elsker.* (CL1)

(2.74) *But all right, I 'd love some red wine."* (ABR1)

(2.75) *Men all right, jeg vil gjerne ha litt rødvin."* (ABR1T)

Another example of that kind is *make sense*. I have decided not to include this one as it does not denote an activity or event and it does not convey the same meaning as 'to sense'. 'To sense' means becoming aware of something or realizing something, although it is not obvious. If you 'make sense' of something, you can understand it. And if something 'makes sense', you can understand that (The Cobuild Dictionary). Compare:

(2.76) *In theory the dazzle explanation makes sense, because the zebra patterning is just about as vivid as it can be, when seen at close quarters, but once again the facts do not support this idea in practice.* (DM1)

(2.77) *They sense that something is missing from their lives, and this feeling intensifies as new collections of books grow hard to find.* (JL1)

As I have already mentioned, one of the problems during the classification process was posed by the kind of eventive objects that were not derived from the verb, e.g. :

(2.78) *She makes no effort to interrupt him.* (ABR1)

(2.79) *She made fun of him to some of her more lively dancing partners, and they, with the disloyalty of flirtatious young men, took up her name for him, which was the Wooden Soldier.* (RDA1)

I have decided to include those instances into my study, as one of the most important features of a delexical construction is that the object noun should denote an activity or event. Hence, even though *effort* is not a verb, it is eventive in the delexical construction mentioned above. Similarly, *make peace* and *make war* shall be regarded as relevant for my study.

Interestingly, the representation of some words in the dictionaries is not consistent. The word 'fun' is sometimes treated as a verb; sometimes not, which may be confusing. In *Ordbnett.no*, *to fun* means *to make/have fun, throw a party* and it is idiomatic there. It is the same in *Dictionary.com*. In the online *OED* and *Dictionary.com*, all those words like *fun*, *peace*, *war*, *effort* are listed with verb meanings, though some of them are marked in the *OED* as obsolete. One of the interesting cases is the verb *work* which is deverbal in *He did some work* but it is not deverbal in *He did some homework*. Examples:

(2.80) *"I'm your servant, I do the work of a servant in this house."* (DL1)

(2.81) *De så på det sinte ansiktet at hun hadde tenkt å si fryktelige ting: "Jeg er din tjener, jeg gjør en tjeners arbeide i dette huset."* (DL1T)

(2.82) *He was doing his maths homework at the same time as watching the screen, which he was not supposed to do.* (FW1)

(2.83) *Han gjorde hjemmeleksen i matte samtidig som han fulgte med på skjermen, noe han ikke skulle gjøre.* (FW1T)

What is more, I did not find it difficult to recognize and eliminate constructions of other kinds of pattern than V NP, e.g. predicative constructions like V NP ADJ below:

(2.84) *But perhaps his words, or something beyond them, have begun to make his obsession more comprehensible to her, even if only provisionally — a willingness, at least, to allow him to persuade her in due course.* (ABR1)

(2.85) *No, that might make things worse than if he made it himself, refreshed by the cool night air.* (RDA1)

Constructions like: 'make somebody do something', 'make seem' do not fit the description of

a delexical construction neither and will not be included in either of the languages:

(2.86) *For some reason, it was this that made her finally break down.* (AT1)

(2.87) *It didn't read like some pick-up place where everyone went off together for topless holidays; nor did it make it seem as if it was your fault for not having a social life.* (JB1)

In the case below confusion may arise from the fact that the verb *make* can collocate with both *clear* and *allusion*. The discriminating point here is what the verb *make* refers to, which, in this case, is *clear*. Thus examples like 2.88-2.91 are excluded from the material.

(2.88) *In four plays by Aristophanes, *The Clouds*, *The Wasps*, *The Birds*, and *The Frogs*, allusions make clear that Socrates was familiar enough for jokes about him to be understood by the general population.* (JH1)

(2.89) *"They didn't even make those wires safe.* (DL2)

(2.90) *No, that might make things worse than if he made it himself, refreshed by the cool night air.* (RDA1)

(2.91) *The very old, he thought, make our past.* (PDJ3)

I also found it quite difficult sometimes to distinguish between the subcategories of the last category of the non-congruent correspondences. Especially the fourth and fifth categories were confusing. Have a look at the sentences below. They both were included into the fifth category but I believe there are people who would disagree with me on this. Such cases seem context dependent and are open for discussion.

(2.92) *Symbolikken i denne hendelsen unngikk ikke å gjøre inntrykk på ham, og hver gang han senere i livet skrev om det gjorde han små, men betydningsfulle, endringer i historien.* (RF1T)

(2.93) *The symbolic potential of this incident did not escape Henry, and on each of the many occasions in later life on which he wrote about it he made slight but significant alterations to the story.* (RF1)

(2.94) *Nå hadde han ryddet alt bortsett fra 200 mål, og han hadde planer om å gjøre dette arbeidet ganske snart.* (LT1T)

(2.95) *He had cleared all but fifty acres, and planned to deal with those soon, though he would leave stands of trees for building materials and firewood.* (LT1)

2.3 Concluding remarks.

In this chapter I have provided an overview of the classification of correspondences of delexical *make* and *gjøre* in my material. This classification is strongly tied to syntax but, as we will see in the next chapters, the semantic features of those correspondences are equally important to the analysis section.

The classification system was outlined with reference to several grammar books and previous studies of delexical verbs mentioned at the beginning of the current chapter (see the introduction to chapter 2). The scheme used by Altenberg proved correct and useful for both English and Norwegian verb constructions. However, some problems were experienced when applying the scheme with reference to some types of constructions, which was described in section 2.2 titled “Borderline and excluded cases”. Such problems occur when the borders between the categories are not sharp enough. Some borderline cases got included under the condition that they fulfilled certain critical requirements (see section 2.2 chapter 2). I also managed to select cases of constructions that had to be eliminated from my research material and back this up with explanations. Possibly, in some cases, the explanation does not fully account for all my choices and this section is open for discussion.

Bearing in mind the theories described and used in the first and the second chapter, the examples in the previous sections (section 2.1.1, 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 above) are quite clear-cut, which allows for the representation of the similarities and differences in a clear way. This, in turn, enables comparison between forms in a language and between the languages and facilitates the analysis process, which will be presented in the following chapters.

3. English delexical *make* and Norwegian delexical *gjøre* and their correspondences.

In this chapter I shall deal with the macroscopic analysis of my research material and determine how widespread the delexical construction is and reveal which types of discourse favours the use of delexical verbs. In order to do this, it is necessary to obtain frequency counts of the number of delexical verb constructions occurring in the two text categories: fiction and non-fiction.

In addition to this, I shall also analyze the correspondences of the delexical verb constructions with *make* and *gjøre*. I will focus on the four syntactic categories of those correspondences and their semantic characteristics. The fourth one will be discussed in this chapter to some degree only and it will be taken into closer consideration in the next chapter.

As the composition of the corpus makes it possible to compare the extracted material in several different ways (see chapter I, section 1.5.2), the observations that can be made here may be of a different character. That is, they may concern the differences between the languages, between the constructions or between the usage of those constructions in the two languages.

What is more, since delexical *make* and *gjøre* are similar verbs, I expect that there will be many similarities between their correspondences, which does not exclude the possibility that the results may differ significantly. In this chapter then I shall present findings from the corpus data. Apart from that, I will also try to explain which constructions tend to be preferred to the delexical construction, if at all, and why.

3.1 Initial observations.

In this section I shall present the main grammatical options of correspondences in the two languages and structural similarities between them. Both English and Norwegian language make it possible for *make* and accordingly for *gjøre* to be translated into four different kinds of correspondences. Main types of constructions used to translate delexical combinations in the two languages, and the main sources of delexical constructions in the translations are shown in tables 3-5 and 3-8.

Table 3-1 Frequency of delexical *make* and *gjøre* after the selection in fiction in original texts and translations.

	Original texts in Fiction	Translations in Fiction	Total
Make	245	237	482
Gjøre	105	142	247
	350	379	729

My first observation here is that delexical *make* is nearly twice as common in the English original texts as delexical *gjøre* is in the Norwegian original texts. There are as many as 245 delexical constructions with *make* in the original texts in fiction and only 105 delexical constructions with *gjøre* in the original texts in fiction. This means that *make* has a stronger position as a delexical verb in English than *gjøre* has in Norwegian. Secondly, *make* is more common in originals than in the translations, which means that some delexical constructions are not translated by their delexical correspondences or that such correspondences do not exist. The difference is very slight and may be due to chance, there are 245 delexical constructions with *make* in original texts and 237 delexical constructions in the translations, but we may still tentatively say that delexical constructions of *make* are underused in translations. The results prove to be just the opposite when it comes to delexical *gjøre* in translations. It is more common in translations, 142 cases, than in the originals, 105 cases. Almost two thirds of all occurrences of *gjøre* are found in the translations. We must assume first that the originals represent the norm, i.e. normal language use. Hence, we can say that *gjøre* is overused in translation and so we are dealing here with the phenomenon of hypercorrection⁶ of delexical constructions. This is common among translators, and especially learners, and may result from a mixture of interlingual and intralingual problems (Rod 1994: 59). It is also probably the case that translators to some extent copy the original, i.e. more delexical verbs in English originals lead to more delexical constructions in the Norwegian translations, while fewer in the Norwegian originals lead to fewer in the translations. One would rather expect the learners to avoid those constructions while it is just the opposite. Possibly, translators do not find delexical constructions difficult and therefore have a tendency

⁶ overuse

to use them quite often.

Table 3-2 Frequency of delexical *make* and *gjøre* after the selection in non-fiction in original texts and translations.

	Original texts in Non-fiction	Translations in Non-fiction	Total
Make	169	216	385
Gjøre	80	82	162
	249	298	547

What strikes us here is the difference in the frequency of delexical constructions between the texts of fiction and non-fiction. We can say that two-thirds, which is 729 out of 1276, of all occurrences of delexical constructions occur in the texts of fiction, comparing to 547 occurrences in non-fiction. Does it have to do with the genre? If yes, in what way? What are the differences in the use of delexical constructions with reference to that?

The main and simplest reason for that is that there are fewer texts of non-fiction than fiction in the ENPC (see section 1.5.2 in chapter 1). Since 20 out of 50 texts belong to the non-fiction part in original and target language we can establish that only around 40% of words that occur in this material belong to the non-fiction texts. Hence, the frequency of delexical verb constructions occurring in this part could be around 40% of all the occurrences of delexical verb constructions as well, parallel to the sizes of the texts. And this is actually the case, delexical constructions in the non-fiction part account for almost 43 % of all the occurrences of delexical verb constructions in the extracted material.

In order to double-check my results and enable the comparison of texts of different length or quantity, we may apply a formula for normalizing frequencies. This formula was provided by Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998: 263-4, as cited in Meyer 2002: 126). Using this formula to calculate the number of delexical verb constructions occurring per 1.000 words in both languages in table 1-1 (section 1.5.2, chapter 1), one simply divides the number of delexical verbs (547) by the length of the corpus or texts in which they occurred (2.600 000) and multiplies this number by 1.000. Since the ENPC corpus is a big one, it is better to normalize to a higher figure:

$$(547/968800) \times 10.000 = 5.65 \text{ (per 10.000 words)}$$

In this case, there are around 5.25 occurrences of delexical verbs in non-fiction texts per 10.000 words. When it comes to fiction texts:

$$(729/1.627000) \times 10.000 = 4.48$$

By using this method and comparing the two results, I revealed that there are more delexical verb constructions in the non-fiction texts than in the fiction texts. Quirk et al. (1985) claims that these kinds of constructions are more common in the informal texts and not the other way round. I shall discuss this in greater detail in chapter 4.

Tables 3-3 - 3-8 below present the quantitative results and the syntactic classes of corresponding constructions to delexical verbs in the research question that could be distinguished in the extracted material. Tables 3-3, 3-4, 3-6 and 3-7 present an overview of the correspondences of delexical *make* and *gjøre* in fiction and non-fiction separately. Table 3-5 below shows the Norwegian correspondences (translations as well as sources) of delexical *make* combinations in the English original texts and translations, in fiction and non-fiction, and table 3-8 shows the English equivalents (translations as well as sources) of delexical *gjøre* combinations in the Norwegian original texts and translations, in fiction and non-fiction. In both tables there is a 'total' column that conflates the figures in the preceding columns, which gives an overall picture of the correspondences in each language disregarding the differences between sources and translations.

Table 3-3 Norwegian equivalents of delexical ‘make’ in fiction.

Types of construction	Norwegian translation		Sources		Together	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Congruent construction with ‘gjøre’	53	22.5	38	15.5	91	19
Other verb + NP	40	17	75	30.5	115	24
Single verb	107	45	93	38	200	41.5
Other constructions	37	15.5	39	16	76	15.5
Total	237	100	245	100	482	100

Table 3-4 Norwegian equivalents of delexical ‘make’ in non-fiction.

Types of construction	Norwegian translation		Sources		Together	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Congruent construction with ‘gjøre’	34	16	29	17	63	16.5
Other verb + NP	72	33	76	45	148	38.5
Single verb	69	32	41	24	110	28.5
Other constructions	41	19	23	14	64	16.5
Total	216	100	169	100	385	100

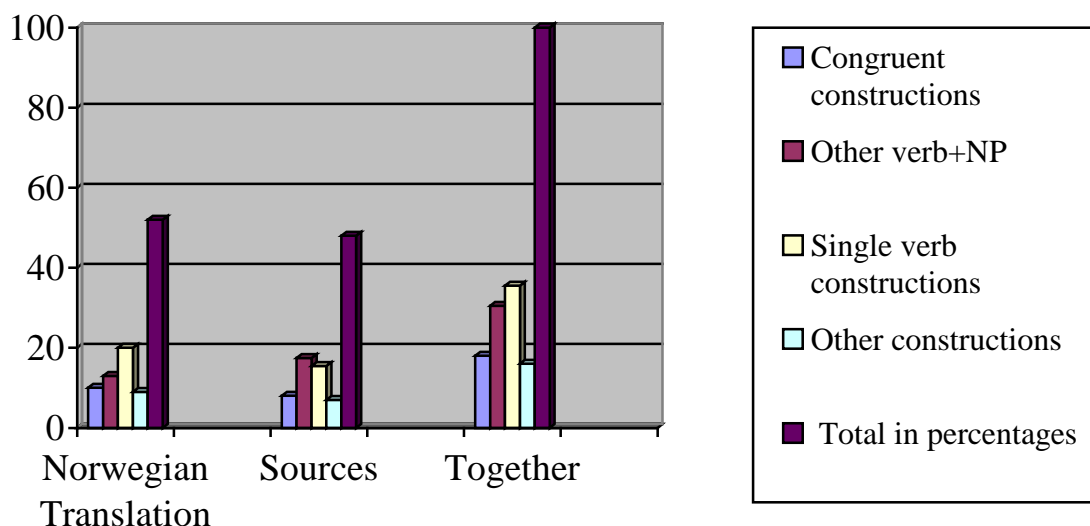


Table 3-5 Norwegian equivalents of delexical ‘make’ in non-fiction and fiction.

When comparing tables 3-3, 3-4, 3-5 with tables 3-6, 3-7 and 3-8, we can observe that the cross-linguistic correspondences of the delexical constructions in the two languages are of the same type. That is, both English delexical *make* and Norwegian delexical *gjøre* have four main types of correspondences in English and Norwegian texts respectively (see chapter 2).

Secondly, the four types of correspondences are not equally common in the two languages, especially when we compare the numbers in the conflated “total” columns. What strikes us here is the difference in the distribution of congruent correspondences to delexical *make* and *gjøre*. As many as 32.5 % of all delexical constructions with *gjøre* are rendered by a congruent construction with *make*, which is the highest number, while only as many as 18% of all delexical constructions with *make* are rendered by a congruent construction with *gjøre*. Delexical *make* is most often replaced by a single verb correspondent construction; 36% of all cases, with the other verb + NP correspondent construction being the second most common with 30% of all occurrences.

The last category of correspondences of *make* and *gjøre*, which is called “other constructions”, is the least common one, ranging between 16-18.5 % of all cases. All those numbers prove that the delexical construction has important competitors in both English and Norwegian.

Table 3-6 English equivalents of delexical ‘gjøre’ in fiction.

Types of construction	English translation		Sources		Together	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Congruent construction with ‘make’	36	15	41	16.5	76	31.5
Other verb + NP	27	10.5	29	11.5	56	22
Single verb	49	19.5	20	8.5	69	28
Other constructions	30	12	15	6.5	45	18.5
Total	142	100	105	100	247	100

Table 3-7 English equivalents of delexical ‘gjøre’ in non-fiction.

Types of construction	English translation		Sources		Together	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Congruent construction with ‘make’	22	13,5	34	21	57	34.5
Other verb + NP	16	10	18	11	34	21
Single verb	25	15.5	16	10	41	25.5
Other constructions	19	11.5	12	7.5	31	19
Total	82	100	80	100	162	100

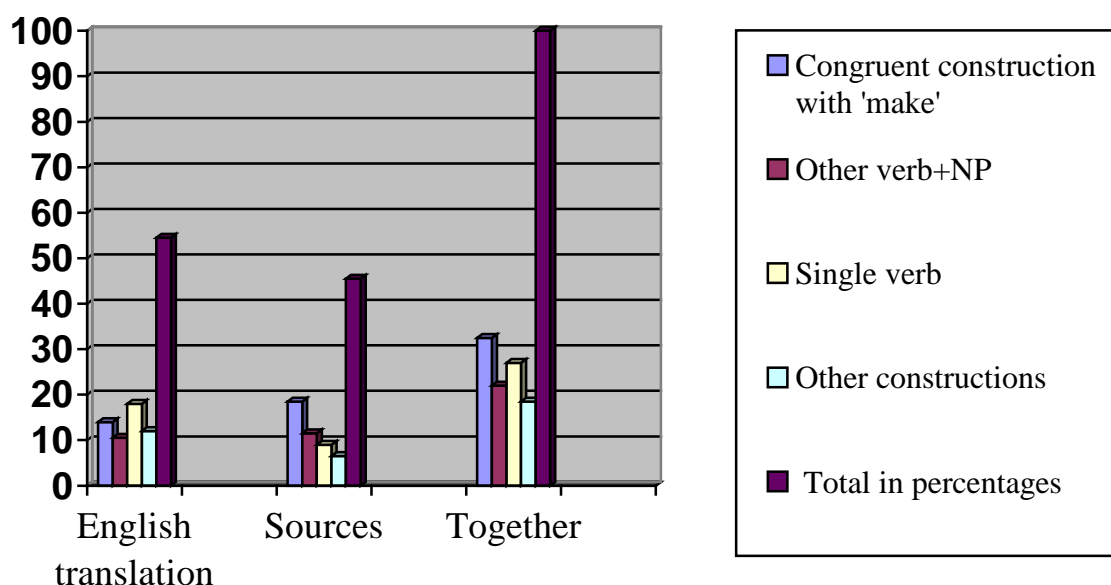


Table 3-8 English equivalents of delexical ‘gjøre’ in non-fiction and fiction together.

If we take a closer look at the differences between the source constructions and the translations, we can point out that the first category, “congruent correspondences”, is more common in the translations than in the original texts in the case of Norwegian correspondences of delexical *make*. When it comes to the correspondences of delexical *gjøre*, the results show the opposite tendency, i. e. the first category is more common in source texts than in the translation texts. When it comes to the second category (other verb + NP), it is more common in source texts in both languages.

We can sum up that “despite the fact that the first and the second category are structurally similar and using one or the other involves comparatively little structural change and they are consequently easy to “transfer” into the other language, they are not characterized by a similar distribution pattern” (Altenberg 2001: 201).

Single verb constructions, the third category, are especially common in the translation texts and the last, fourth category called “other constructions”, presents the same pattern of distribution in fiction and non-fiction, in original and translation texts.

Taking a closer look at the results concerning fiction and non-fiction texts, we can observe that the distribution of correspondences to Norwegian delexical *gjøre* are comparable in fiction and non-fiction texts, while it is not the case for the correspondences of English delexical verb constructions with *make*. Other verb + NP is a much more common

correspondence in the non-fiction texts than in the fiction texts, while single verb correspondence is more common in the fiction texts.

Another interesting observation that can be made here is that the frequency of delexical constructions in the original and translation texts in non-fiction presents an opposite tendency here than in the texts of fiction. There are fewer delexical constructions in the original English texts, 249, than in the translations, 298. The difference is much more marked in the case of delexical *make* than *gjøre*. And again, are we dealing here with the phenomenon of translationese?

Similarly to the texts of fiction, delexical *make* is more common in non-fiction than delexical *gjøre*. What is more, delexical *gjøre* is slightly more common in translations than in originals, just as in fiction, but the difference is very slight and so of no particular importance.

Summing up, the last three categories present a similar pattern of distribution: the second one is more common in the original texts and the third and the fourth ones are more common in the translation texts. I may conclude that the source language influences translations. The translations have patterns that are more like the source than the originals in the same language.

Those initial observations may seem quite general but they tell us a lot about the tendencies in translation processes. It is necessary to take a deeper approach and therefore when carrying out the analysis of my material, I will have a closer look at the alternatives for the delexical constructions that can be used instead in translations. Moreover, it will be useful to check delexical constructions in the translations and see what constructions they correspond to in the original texts.

3.2 Mutual correspondence.

With the aim of finding out more about the correspondences, I have determined the so-called “mutual correspondence” or “MC”, in short, of the delexical *make* and *gjøre*. The notion of MC was first introduced by Altenberg in his study of adverbial connectors in English and Swedish, based on the sister corpus of the ENPC (Johansson 2004: 76) and was defined by him as “the frequency with which different (grammatical, semantic and lexical) expressions are translated into each other” (Altenberg 1999:254, as cited in Johansson 2007: 26). MC is calculated by means of the formula as shown below:

$$\frac{(A_t + B_t) \times 100}{A_s + B_s}$$

$$A_s + B_s$$

(Johansson 2004: 76)

Here, A_t and B_t are the compared categories in the translations, and A_s and B_s the compared categories in the source texts. The value may range from 0% (no correspondence) to 100% (full correspondence) (Altenberg as quoted in Johansson 2004: 76). As shown in table 3-9, values vary very widely and the intertranslatability level between the constructions may vary substantially as well, depending on the direction of translation. Table 3.9 shows degrees of mutual correspondence between delexical *make* and *gjøre*. The numbers in the brackets present the number of occurrences in the extracted material. The percentage column presents the percentage of cases where the expressions in pairs are used to translate each other. The last column describes the level of congruence or intertranslatability.

Table 3-9 Mutual correspondence.

Fiction and Non-Fiction			
English <i>make</i>	Norwegian <i>gjøre</i>	%	Congruence
make an entrance	gjøre en entré (1)	100	Always congruent
make an entry	gjøre en entre (1)	100	
make a selection	gjøre et valg (1)	100	
make advances	gjøre tilnærmelser (1)	100	
make an allusion	gjøre hentydninger (1)	100	
make a supplication	gjøre en påkallelse (1)	100	
make an assumption	gjøre seg tanker (1)	100	
make priorities	gjøre prioriteringer (1)	100	
make an attack	gjøre en innfall (1)	100	
make an attack	gjøre angrep (1)	100	
		10	
Partial mutual correspondence of delexical <i>make</i> and <i>gjøre</i> . (cases of constructions that appeared at least five times in the extracted material)			

English <i>make</i>	Norwegian <i>gjøre</i> with the distribution number.	%	Congruence
make an attempt	gjøre et forsøk	66	Sometimes congruent
make fun	gjøre narr av	56.5	
make an impression	gjøre inntrykk	53	
make an observation	gjøre observasjoner	46.5	
make a move(ment)	gjøre en bevegelse	43	
make a mistake	gjøre feil	43	
make amendments	gjøre endringer	37.5	
make a difference	gjøre en forskjell	35	
make a contribution	gjøre innsats	33.5	
make offerings	gjøre ofringer	33.5	
make a choice	gjøre et valg	30	
make a comment	gjøre seg kommentarer	28.5	
make a start	gjøre en begynnelse	28,5	
make a progress	gjøre fremskritt	28.5	
make a progress	gjøre fremgang	25	
make preparations	gjøre forberedelser	25	
make resistance	gjøre motstand	25	
make a fuss	gjøre vesen av	22	
make a note	gjøre notater	18	
make a change	gjøre endringer	18	
make a trip	gjøre en reise	13.5	
make use	gjøre bruk	11.5	
make a decision	gjøre et vedtak	10	
make a living	gjøre en fortjeneste	8	
make use	gjøre nytte	7	
make an effort	gjøre et forsøk	6	
make an attempt	gjøre anstrengelser	5.7	
		27	

Cases of <i>gjøre</i> which 0% MU, with no delexical constructions as equivalents			
English <i>make</i>	Norwegian <i>gjøre</i> with the distribution number.	%	Congruence
Other	gjøre arbeid (26)	0	Never congruent
Other	gjøre en tjeneste (20)	0	
Other	gjøre jobb (16)	0	
Other	gjøre et kast (7)	0	
Other	gjøre krav (7)	0	
Other	gjøre skade (6)	0	
Other	gjøre opprør (5)	0	
Other	gjøre lykke (hos...) (5)	0	
Other	gjøre ugagn (5)	0	
		9	
Cases of <i>make</i> with 0% MU, with no delexical constructions as equivalents			
English <i>make</i>	Norwegian <i>gjøre</i>	%	Congruence
make love (21)	Other	0	Never congruent
make an arrangement (18)	Other	0	
make a sound (16)	Other	0	
make a contact (13)	Other	0	
make (a) noises (13)	Other	0	
make a joke (11)	Other	0	
make a call (10)	Other	0	
make a demand (9)	Other	0	
make a remark (9)	Other	0	
make a recommendation (7)	Other	0	
make a plan (7)	Other	0	
make a list (7)	Other	0	
make a reference (6)	Other	0	
make a bet (6)	Other	0	
make a copy (5)	Other	0	

make allowances (5)	Other	0	
make a proposal (5)	Other	0	
make profits (5)	Other	0	
		18	

As we can see in table 3-5 and 3-8, delexical constructions with *make* in English are translated by congruent constructions in over 30% of all cases. However, Norwegian delexical *gjøre* gets a congruent correspondence of 18% in the corpus, which constitutes only almost ¼ of all cases. Thus the MC between delexical *make* and *gjøre* is asymmetrical.

By having a look at individual combinations in table 3-9, we get a list of examples with varying degrees of MC. I have included here cases of constructions that occurred at least 5 times in the corpus, with the exception of constructions with 100% MC, where some of them occurred less than 5 times but are presented here for practical reasons. In this table, we can distinguish three main levels of correspondence. At the top we find combinations that are always translated by each other in the corpus, i.e. they have 100% correspondence. For example, *make a selection* is always rendered by *gjøre et valg* and the other way round. Similarly, *make an entrance* and *gjøre en entre*; *make a supplication* and *gjøre en påkalelse*. Those constructions have no or few serious competitors as correspondences in either language or, in other words, there are not many alternative constructions that are available as correspondences for those delexical verbs. Hence, Altenberg calls them “regular translation equivalents” (Altenberg 2001: 203). As we can see in this table, there are only 10 constructions that represent this category, which constitutes only 3.3 % of the types. Furthermore, they are all quite rare in the corpus and more occurrences of these phrases might reduce the MC. For example:

(3.1) *He was about to make his entrance as a god.* (JH1)

(3.2) *Han skulle nettopp til å gjøre sin entré som en gud.* (JH1T)

(3.3) *Det var lett for Joseph — godt vant som han var til å være lite iøynefallende — å smelte sammen med arbeidsfolkene der, med tre salatbrett elegant balansert på hodet, og gjøre sin entre i byen.* (JC1T)

(3.4) *It was easy for Joseph much used to being inconspicuous — to merge in with the workers there, three trays of lettuce balanced expertly on his head, and make his entry into town.* (JC1)

While 100% MC is very rare, the majority of the constructions belong to the next two categories: other verb + NP and single verbs. Only 28 constructions with the distribution of 5 or more could be taken into consideration when calculating the partial MC, which constitutes only 9% of all the correspondences. Even though the corpus seems too small to make this kind of observations, table 3-5 and 3-8 do present some of the tendencies in the corpus. I shall take a closer look at this in the next chapter.

In the middle of table 3-9, there is a group of constructions with intermediate ‘correspondence values’ stretching between 66 and 5.5 % of MC (Altenberg 2001: 203). Despite the fact that the correspondence value is not 100%, those pairs are quite frequently used to render each other like: *make an attempt* and *gjøre et forsøk*; *make a movement* and *gjøre en bevegelse*. Some examples are shown in table 3-9. That means that delexical constructions are sometimes translated by a congruent construction in the other language and sometimes not. They may often be replaced by an alternative construction, which is another verb than *make* or *gjøre* + NP or by a single verb or “other construction”. To illustrate that, *make a mistake* and *gjøre feil* are delexical equivalents in the corpus. *Make a mistake* corresponds to *gjøre feil* three times in the Norwegian texts, but it is also rendered by structurally equivalent constructions like: *begå feil*, *ta feil*, *gjøre en brøler*. Conversely, *gjøre feil* corresponds to *make a mistake* six times in the English texts and to *make errors* and other translations. Examples:

(3.5) *This scolding was what she was getting from everyone, and she flashed out, "Anyone can make a mistake."* (DL1)

(3.6) *En slik overhøvling fikk hun av alle, og hun fór opp: "Alle kan gjøre feil."* (DL1T)

(3.7) *They say all criminals make at least one mistake, and that holds good too, I suppose, for people who want to give the impression they are.* (FC1T)

(3.8) *Man sier gjerne at alle forbrytere begår minst en feil, og det gjelder nok også for dem som vil gi inntrykk av å være det.* (FC1)

(3.9) *They made a grievous mistake.* (KP1T)

(3.10) *Men de tok grundig feil.* (KP1)

Similarly, *make an impression* and *gjøre ett inntrykk* are sometimes translation equivalents but sometimes they are rendered by a non-congruent alternative in one of the languages, e.g.: *virke, få stillt noen nakne, gi inntrykk, sette spor etter seg selv* in the Norwegian texts and *create an impression, be impressive, impress* etc. in the English texts. Hence, we can sum up that both languages offer a range of alternatives to congruent delexical constructions.

At the bottom of table 3-9 are examples which are never translated by a congruent construction in the other language. These are instances of zero correspondences: “instances where the English text does not contain any form that can be related specifically to the Norwegian modal particle” (Johansson 2007: 23). What is more, Johansson (2007) points out that “zero correspondence applies both to forms in the source text which have no formal counterpart in the target text and to forms in the target text which seem to have appeared out of the blue, although there is no formal counterpart in the source text” (Johansson 2007: 26). He distinguishes between zero correspondence by ‘omission’ and by ‘addition’. The last category of correspondences called ‘other correspondences’ reflects those features and is discussed in the subchapter 3.6.

The degree of intertranslatability is low for such constructions. As Johansson (2007) suggests, it may be caused by a greater choice in the other language or a lexical gap between the constructions as well as by the direction of the translation. Hence, there are two possibilities: the given item has either been omitted in translation or added to the translation. And as it was shown in table 3-9, these examples are numerous as there are as many as 47 constructions with delexical *gjøre* that have no congruent correspondences and as many as 114 constructions with delexical *make* that have no congruent correspondences. For example, English *make love, make an arrangement, make a sound, make a contact* etc. have no delexical correspondent constructions in Norwegian and Norwegian *gjøre arbeid, gjøre en tjeneste, gjøre krav, gjøre skade* etc. are never rendered by a congruent correspondence in the English texts but have a number of alternative renderings. Here is a range of options that the above mentioned English and Norwegian constructions display:

- *make love: elske (med), ligge sammen, være sammen, gjøre kur, ha samleie, ta (noen).*
- *make an arrangement: legge opp arbeidet, ordne, avtale, legge prøve-arrangementet, gjennomføre ordningen, ha en avtale, bestille, finne en ordning.*
- *make a contact: bli kjent, oppnå/få en kontakt, få/søke en forbindelse.*

- *make a list: utarbeide en liste, lage en liste, skrive en liste, ta opp en liste, sette opp en liste.*
- *gjøre arbeid: do work, work, do a job, perform a task.*
- *gjøre en tjeneste: do something for someone, do a favor, be used as, serve, act, do a work.*
- *gjøre krav: demand, claim, assert a right.*
- *gjøre skade: do a damage, harm, do harm.*

3.3 Variable congruence - general tendencies.

As we could see in the previous section, complete, clear ‘translation equivalents’ are not a common phenomenon. The majority of the correspondences to my delexical *make* and *gjøre* belong to the middle group of constructions in the table 3-9 (have a look at table 3-5 and 3-8 as well). In other words, even though the delexical construction is quite often used in the corpus, it frequently corresponds to a non-congruent construction in either language, to a single verb construction at most times. Table 3-10 displays some examples of such constructions. Congruent pairs are shown in bold and the distribution of recurrent constructions is indicated in parentheses. And so, *make a move* and *gjøre en bevegelse* are delexical congruent correspondences. But *make a move* may also be translated into a structurally equivalent construction like *strekke hånda ut, foreta seg noe forhastet* (other verb + NP) and *røre seg, reise seg* (single verb construction). In this case, both languages offer a comparatively rich range of alternatives apart from congruent, delexical construction (for the correspondences of *gjøre en bevegelse* see table 3-10). The same can be illustrated by the majority of such pairs in general as in: *make an impression* and *gjøre inntrykk*, *make an attempt* and *gjøre et forsøk*, *make fun* and *gjøre narr av*, *make a mistake* and *gjøre feil*, *make an observation* and *gjøre en observasjon*, *make a study* and *gjøre studie*, *make a deal* and *gjøre en avtale*, *make a decision* and *gjøre en vedtak*, *make use* and *gjøre nytte*, *make a contribution* and *gjøre innsats*, *make a turn* and *gjøre sving*.

In some cases, one of the languages displays a greater variety of alternative constructions than the other. For example, English *make a (no) comment* can be replaced in Norwegian by *gjøre en kommentar, si, komme med bemerkninger, kommentere* etc., whereas *gjøre seg en kommentar* is rendered only into *make a comment* in the English material. A similar tendency

is observed for *make a choice* and *gjøre et valg*, *make a decision* and *gjøre et vedtak*, *make use* and *gjøre nytte/bruk*, *make an effort* and *gjøre anstrengelser*, *make a trip* and *gjøre en reise*, *make a mistake* and *gjøre feil*. Examples:

(3.11) *He was making similar mental comments about her: she seemed to dislike these occasions as much as he did.* (DL1)

(3.12) *Han gjorde seg de samme mentale kommentarer om henne: hun så ut til å mislike disse festlighetene like mye som han gjorde.* (DL1T)

(3.13) *He sits restlessly and makes brief comments to the man next to him.* (CL1T)

(3.13) *Han sitter utålmodig og småkommenterer med sidemannen.* (CL1)

(3.14) *Han gjorde seg de samme mentale kommentarer om henne: hun så ut til å mislike disse festlighetene like mye som han gjorde.* (DL1T)

(3.15) *He was making similar mental comments about her: she seemed to dislike these occasions as much as he did.* (DL1)

As we can see sentence (3.11) and (3.15) and their correspondences are just the same, they are translation equivalents.

As many as 20 constructions of delexical verbs, out of 27 that were taken into consideration when showing the MC value, present a greater variety in the Norwegian texts than in the English ones. What can be pointed out here then is that Norwegian language seems to display a greater choice of alternative constructions than the English language does. What does that mean? What is the reason for that great bias between the two verbs in English and Norwegian?

My observations here are similar to those made by Altenberg (2001) in that the phenomenon observed is of the same nature. However, while he calls this tendency “great variability in English, limited variability in Swedish”, I can call it “great variability in Norwegian, limited variability in English” (Altenberg 2001: 205). This means that some delexical constructions have few or no competitors in one language, while their counterparts may be rendered into a range of alternatives in another language, which is definitely one of the reasons for the comparatively low overall mutual correspondence of delexical constructions in the corpus. Table 3-10 below presents such pairs of delexical verbs both in English and Norwegian together with the figures of distribution.

Table 3-10 Some constructions with *make* and *gjøre* that are rendered both by congruent and non-congruent correspondences. (The table presents constructions that occurred at least 5 times or more)

Fiction and Non-Fiction		Fiction and Non-Fiction	
English <i>make</i> (originals)	Norwegian construction (translations)	Norwegian <i>gjøre</i> (originals)	English construction (translations)
make an impression	gjøre et inntrykk (14), virke, få stillt noen nakne, virke på, gi et inntrykk, sette spor etter seg selv	gjøre inntrykk	make an impression (13), create an impression, give an impression (2), impress (8), Other translation , make look good , be impressive, cut zero ice (with sm.) (2), seem, attract, have effect
make a start	gjøre en ny begynnelse , få begynne, begynne (med) (2), få nytt/et start, ta det første skrittet	gjøre en begynnelse	make a start
make a move	gjøre tegn , gjøre en bevegelse (3), gjøre et utspill, røre (seg), Other translation (2), strekke hånda ut, reise seg, foreta seg noe forhastet, Ø- translation (2)	gjøre en bevegelse	make a move(ment) (6), make a motion , gesture, move (arm), signal, gesture, Other translation, give a movement
		*gjøre et utspill	make a move (1)
make an attempt	gjøre et forsøk (17), gjøre framstøt (2), gjøre anstrengelser , forsøke, Other translation (4), Ø- translation (2), orke (å gjøre noe), søke, prøve	gjøre et forsøk	make an attempt (18), make a stab (at) , make an effort (2), take a crack (at), make experiments
		*gjøre halvhjertede forsøk	fail
		*gjøre anstrengelser	make attempts, Other translation (2), try, labor
		*gjøre fremstøt	make an attempt (2)
make an effort	gjøre et forsøk (2), Other translations (4), anstrenge seg (5), ta bryet (med), nedlegge arbeid, ville, burde, arbeide, sette alt inn på å, gjøre anstrengelser , ta seg på tak, gjøre noe , bestrebe seg (2), gjennomføre tiltakene, sette inn et tiltak, Ø-translation (4), Other translation	gjøre anstrengelser	make an effort , labor, expend on efforts, make attempts
		gjøre tilnærmelser	make an advance

make a trip	gjøre en reise , gjennomføre et raid, komme en lang vei, gjennomføre en reise, være en tur (i et sted), dra , reise (2), bære vendinger, ta en tur, gjøre en tur, gå	gjøre en reise	make a trip , attempt a voyage, travel
		*gjøre en tur	stroll
make fun	gjøre narr av (7), drive gjøn med noe(n), latterliggjøre, drive streker , holde leven med (noen)	gjøre narr (av)	make fun (6), Other translations: deride, have someone on , jeer (sm.) (2), mock
make a mistake	gjøre en feil (3), begå en feil (2), begå en gjerning, gjøre en brøler, ta feil (2), Other translation (2), gjøre dumheter	gjøre feil	make a mistake (6), Other translations: make errors
		gjøre dumheter	make mistakes

At this point, I would like to draw attention to one more types of distribution of correspondences which is the number of the types of categories per number of tokens (see table 3-11).

Table 3-11 The distribution of types of delexical verbs in Norwegian and English translations of delexical constructions.

	Types	% of all the occurrences/tokens	Tokens
Norwegian <i>gjøre</i>	114	28	409
English <i>make</i>	305	24	1276

Looking at this table, we can observe that the distribution figures presented here reflect to some degree that “great variability in Norwegian, limited variability in English”. Norwegian types of delexical *gjøre* are more numerous than English delexical *make* when we take into consideration the number of types of verbs extracted from the material per number of tokens. One may say that the difference is slight and may be of little importance but I gather that since Norwegian seems to present this tendency, it is one of the reasons why there is a greater variability in the Norwegian correspondences and not the other way round. Further, we should have a closer look at other correspondences. However, what seems to be a more decisive factor in this case are the observations made previously. In the beginning of the chapter I

concluded that English delexical *make* has a much stronger position in the English texts than Norwegian delexical *gjøre* has in the Norwegian texts. Automatically, English correspondences are less common because delexical *gjøre* is much less common in the Norwegian texts than delexical *make* is in the English texts. For example, while English *make a difference* appears 30 times in the English texts, *gjøre en forskjell* appears only 5 times in the Norwegian texts. Similarly, *make a start* (6) and *gjøre en begynnelse* (1), *make a note* (10) and *gjøre notater* (1), *make an effort* (20) and *gjøre anstrengelser* (4) etc. Altenberg calls it a ‘one-sided variability’ (Altenberg 2001: 205).

Nevertheless, there are cases where the English language presents an equally varied or wider range of alternative correspondences to the delexical constructions while Norwegian does not, as in the table 3-12 below.

Table 3-12 Part of table 3-9, cases of English delexical *make* and its Norwegian correspondences.

English delexical <i>make</i>	Norwegian correspondences	Norwegian delexical <i>gjøre</i>	English correspondences
make a move	gjøre tegn , gjøre en bevegelse, gjøre en bevegelse (3), gjøre et utspill, røre (seg), Other translation (2), strekke hånda ut , reise seg , foreta seg noe forhastet , Ø-translation (2)	gjøre en bevegelse	make a movement (6), make a motion, gesture (2), move (arm)), signal , give a movement, Other translations)
		*gjøre et utspill	make a move
make fun	gjøre narr av (7), drive gjøn med noen, latterliggjøre, drive streker, holde leven med (noen)	gjøre narr av	make fun (6), deride, have someone on, jeer (someone) (2), mock, Other translation
*make an end	dra	gjøre ende	make an end, put an end, top oneself , Other translation
		*gjøre slutt	discontinue, put an end (2), bring to an end, end (2)
*make resistance	gjøre motstand	gjøre motstand	make a resistance, resist (2), revolt (against), put up resistance, fight back, Other translation
make a purchase	gjøre innkjøp	gjøre innkjøp	make a purchase, shop, go shopping , do shopping

The reason for that could also lie in the low frequency of a given construction in the material.

Gjøre ende appears four times in the whole Norwegian material while I have come across only one instance of *make an end* in the English texts. Similarly, *gjøre motstand* appears seven times in the corpus while *make resistance* appears only once in translated texts.

Both in English and in Norwegian there are pairs of constructions, albeit few, with a high degree of mutual correspondence. In opposition to them are constructions that have many alternatives in either language where their use is often dependent on the context in which they are used (Altenberg 2001: 206). In some cases, while the availability of alternative correspondences is limited in one of the languages, it is not in the other one.

We can sum up that when it comes to the use of the correspondences, three tendencies can be observed, which are in accordance with the observations made by Altenberg (2001):

- delexical combination is rendered by a non-congruent verb + NP construction.
- delexical combination is rendered by a single verb construction.
- the first two observations may be simultaneously true for some delexical combinations.

In the case of the last option, one of the alternatives tends to be preferred. For example, *make use of* corresponds to *bruke* in 7 out of 30 cases in the Norwegian texts and *gjøre en oppdagelse* corresponds to *discover* in 2 out of 3 cases in the English texts.

There are, as well, cases where different correspondences are equally preferred or, in other words, there is no ‘standard’ correspondence to such a construction in a given language. For example, *make a trip* is rendered by 11 different constructions with a more or less equal distribution; *make a fuss* is rendered by 8 different constructions with an equal frequency of use. Similarly, *gjøre motstand* is translated into 6 and *gjøre innkjøp* into 4 different constructions with an equal frequency of use. However, in some cases where there are several alternative constructions, the material reveals a preference for one of them. It may be exemplified by: *make an effort*, *make a decision*, *gjøre inntrykk*, etc. *Make an effort* is often rendered by *anstrenge seg* and *make a decision* is often translated by *treffe en avgjørelse* as in the examples below:

(3.16) *Young Ben, at twelve, looked like his father, admired his father and made a special effort to be like his father.* (FW1)

(3.17) *Unge Ben på tolv så ut som sin far, beundret sin far og anstrengte seg ekstra mye for å bli lik sin far.* (FW1T)

(3.18) *But although they planned everything together and if there was a decision to be made affecting us, or any other matter that could be discussed in front of us, we would see him looking at her (the way he looked at me over the chess board) while he awaited her opinion, I am right in attributing the drawing of the safe circle of our lives, then, to him.* (NG1)

(3.19) *Det er altså riktig av meg å tillegge ham æren for den tryggheten vi følte. Men selv om de planla allting sammen var det slik at når det var en avgjørelse å treffe som angikk oss, eller andre ting som kunne diskuteres i vårt nærvær, la vi merke til at han så på henne (slik han så på meg over sjakkbrettet) mens han ventet på å høre hennes mening.* (NG1T)

Apart from that, there are cases where only one of the alternatives seems to be available. For example, there is no English other verb + NP correspondence of *gjøre forsøk*, *gjøre narr av*, *gjøre et tegn*. Conversely, *make a mistake*, *make a contact*, *make a mark*, *make a speech* and many other less frequent constructions have no single verb correspondence. There is no Norwegian other verb + NP correspondence to: *make love*, *make a remark*, *make an attempt*, *make a comment*, *make fun*, *make a provision* etc. But again, *gjøre et eksperiment*, *gjøre innkjøp*, *gjøre innsats* have no single verb constructions as a correspondence. One of the obvious reasons for that could be the size of the corpus.

Summing up my observations, I can say that the most obvious reason for the low mutual correspondence of these delexical verbs is quite wide access to alternative correspondences in either language. In the next chapters I shall carry out a more detailed examination of these observations and will try to provide for the fact that alternative options tend to be preferred to the delexical constructions.

3.4 English and Norwegian other verbs + NP as correspondences.

Both English and Norwegian offer a wide range of other verb + NP alternative correspondences. It is important to remember that such constructions belong to the second category of correspondences that represent the same syntactic form as the first, delexical category of verb constructions, but it differs in the main verb which is different from *make* or *gjøre*.

There are 14 English types of verbs (and 77 tokens) that occurred in the English texts and the most common of them are: *do* (42), *put* (8), *take* (7), *have* (6) and *give* (4) etc. The Norwegian texts again present a much greater variety of forms as there are 56 types of verbs (and 245 tokens) that occurred in the Norwegian texts and the most common of them are: *ta* (30), *lage* (20), *treffe* (17), *ha* (14), *gi* (13), *foreta* (13), *få* (7), *bli* (7), *skaffe* (6), *oppnå* (6), *legge* (6), *utarbeide* (4), *gjennomføre* (6), *skape* (4), *sette* (4), *rette* (4), *fremsette* (4) etc.

My results here are not in accordance with those obtained by Altenberg (2001). His results were proportionate as he received an almost equal number of verbs occurring in the other verb + NP combinations both in English and Swedish, which was around 80. Why is the difference so substantial here? And what does it say about the use of those verbs in each language? The answer, or one of them, can be that the meaning of the Swedish *göra* is probably wider and covers the meanings of Norwegian *lage*. Compare the three examples below in English, Swedish and Norwegian:

(3.20) *We have a book called Rainy Day Hobbies that shows how to make a walkie-talkie out of two cans and a piece of string, or how to make a boat that will go forward if you drop lubricating oil into a hole in it; also how to make a doll's chest-of-drawers out of a miniature matchboxes, and how to make various animals – a dog, a sheep, a camel – out of pipecleaners. (MA1)*

(3.21) *Vi har en bok som heter Regnväderspyssel där det visas hur man kan göra en bruktelefon av två konserbrukar och en bit snöre, eller hur man kan göra en båt som åker framåt om man droppar smörolja i ett hål i den; dessutom hur man kan göra en dockbyrå av pyttesmå tändsticksaksar, och hur man kan göra olika djur en hund, ett får, en kamel – av piprensare. (MA1T)*

(3.22) *Vi har en bok som heter Den store regnværsboken, der det står hvordan man kan lage walkie-talkie av to bokser og en hyssing, eller en båt som kan gå framover av seg selv hvis man drypper maskinolje ned i et hull i den. Så kan man lage dukkekommode av fyrstikesker og forskjellige dyr – en hund, en sau, en kamel – av piperensere. (MA1T)*

There are, however, some similarities as well. One of them is that the verb *do* is much more common among the English verbs than any of the Norwegian verbs in the Norwegian material even though the Norwegian types greatly outnumber the English ones. *Do* accounts here for 7% of the types and 54.5% of the tokens of the verbs occurring in the combination in

question. The most common Norwegian verb, on the other hand, is *ta* which accounts for 2% of all types and 12% of all the tokens (see table 3-14). In table 3-15 there are some examples of the verbs that occurred in the other verb + NP combinations as correspondences of delexical *make* and *gjøre*.

Table 3-13 Samples of other verb + NP constructions as correspondences to delexical *make* and *gjøre*.

English delexical <i>make</i>	Norwegian delexical <i>gjøre</i>	Norwegian other verb constructions
make a profit		oppnå et utbytte, trekke inntekter, gi inntekter, ha fortjenester
make an impression	gjøre inntrykk (11)	gi et inntrykk
make a difference	gjøre en forskjell (4)	spille en rolle (3), innebære en forskjell, utgjøre en forskjell
make a mistake	gjøre feil (7), gjøre dumheter, gjøre en brøler	begå en feil, begå en gjerning, ta feil
make a list		utarbeide en liste, lage en liste (2), skrive en liste
make a start	gjøre en ny begynnelse	få begynne, få nytt/et start, ta det første skrittet
make a contribution	gjøre innsats	presentere sitt bidrag, gi en bidrag, yte bidrag (2)
make a regulation		gi en forordning, utarbeide en reglement
make a contact		slutte en kontakt, oppnå en kontakt, knytte en kontakt, få en kontakt, bli kjent, søke en forbindelse, få en forbindelse
make an improvement		innføre en forbedring, oppnå en forbedring
make a change	gjøre en endring	avstedkomme forandringer, utvirke en endring, bevirke en forandring,
make an effort	gjøre et forsøk (2)	ta bryet, gjennomføre tiltakene, sette inn et tiltak, nedlegge arbeid
Norwegian delexical <i>gjøre</i>	English delexical <i>make</i>	English other verb constructions
gjøre inntrykk	make an impression (12)	create impression, give an impression, have effect

gjøre et eksperiment		do an experiment, carry out an experiment
gjøre innkjøp	make a purchase	do shopping, go shopping
gjøre en tjeneste		do a favor (5), do work
gjøre ende	make an end	put an end
gjøre motstand	make a resistance	put up a resistance
gjøre innsats	make a contribution (3)	take part

Examples in tables 3-10, 3-12 and 3-13 show some tendencies in the use of correspondences of the delexical verbs in question. One of them is that delexical verbs may be rendered into several types of constructions in both languages. In some cases one of the types is more common than the others and yet some cannot be rendered into a congruent construction at all. Some Norwegian verbs that are always rendered into a non-congruent construction are: *gjøre lykke (hos)*, *gjøre arbeid*, *gjøre jobb*, *gjøre et kast*, *gjøre en tjeneste*, *gjøre opprør*, *gjøre nytte (av)*, *gjøre krav*, *gjøre en undersøkelse*, *gjøre skade* etc. English examples of that kind may be represented by: *make love*, *make a list*, *make an arrangement*, *make a call*, *make a profit*, *make a noise*, *make a sound*, *make payments*, *make a remark*, *make a contact*, *make a plan*, *make a mark*, *make allowances*, *make a recommendation*, *make a statement*, *make a demand*, *make a proposal*, *make a reference* etc. Have a look at the following examples:

(3.23) *Selv er faren slavehandler — etter noens mening, etter andres den hvite hersker som overlever da en flokk fargede banditter gjør opprør.* (KH1)

(3.24) *According to some, Roald's father was a slave-trader; according to others, he was the white commander who had survived when a mob of coloured bandits rose in rebellion, while he was sailing a cargo of Chinese coolies from China to Havana.* (KH1T)

(3.25) *Rett til å kreve seg fritatt for valg har den som har fylt 65 år før valgperioden tar til, samt den som har gjort tjeneste som medlem av vedkommende organ de siste fire år.* (KL1)

(3.26) *Entitled to claim exemption from election is any person who has reached the age of 65 before the commencement of the electoral term or any person who has served as a member of the body concerned for the past four years.* (KL1T)

(3.27) We made allowances for the system because we were foreigners buying a tiny part of France, and national security clearly had to be safeguarded. (PM1)

(3.28) Vi hadde en viss forståelse for dette systemet, fordi vi var utlendinger som ville kjøpe en bitteliten del av Frankrike, og rikets sikkerhet måtte jo trygges. (PM1T)

(3.29) In the fourteenth century covenant between the Hittite King Mursilis II and his vassal Duppi Tashed, the King made this demand: "Do not turn to anyone else. (KAR1)

(3.30) I den pakten som på 1300-tallet ble inngått mellom hetitterkongen Mursjili II og hans vasall Duppitasjed, fremsatte kongen dette kravet: "Vend deg ikke til noen annen. (KAR1T)

In some cases the delexical congruent construction does occur but the alternative is more frequent. This may be exemplified by the correspondences of constructions like: *make a decision, make a difference, make a start, make a point, make a contribution, make a note, make a living, make a trip, make a change, make an effort, make a turn, make a mess, make a way, make use, make a joke* etc. When it comes to Norwegian constructions, it may be exemplified by: *gjøre narr av, gjøre en avtale* etc. The examples below illustrate that phenomenon:

(3.31) After the waiter had left, Macon made a note in his guidebook. (AT1)

(3.32) Da kelneren forsvant, noterte han i guiden. (AT1T)

(3.33) Arbeidsgiver og arbeidstaker kan også gjøre skriftlig avtale om å overføre inn-til 12 virkedager av ferien til neste ferieår. (SI1)

(3.34) An employer and an employee can also agree in writing to transfer up to 12 working days of holiday to the next holiday year. (SI1T)

It may also be the case that several correspondent constructions are equally common. Examples of this kind are Norwegian correspondences of: *make a start, make a point, make a move, make a fuss, make a comment, make a choice, make a progress, make a preparation, make amendments, make a study* etc. It may also be exemplified by the English correspondences of: *gjøre ende, gjøre motstand, gjøre innkjøp, gjøre en avtale, gjøre anstrengelser, gjøre krav, gjøre vesen av* etc.

Apart from that, in several cases the delexical construction is dominant and an alternative verb combination is only used occasionally depending on the context. Examples of this are the Norwegian correspondences of: *make an impression, make a mistake, make a movement, make an attempt, make fun, make an observation, make a sign, make an attack* etc. And the English equivalents of: *gjøre inntrykk, gjøre en bevegelse, gjøre narr av, gjøre innsats, gjøre observasjoner, gjøre et tegn, gjøre feil, gjøre en forskjell, gjøre en tilnærkelse, gjøre bruk, gjøre en reise, gjøre en oppdagelse* etc.

With reference to that last observation, “the choice between the delexical construction with *make* or *gjøre* and the other verb + NP construction has to do with the collocational restrictions between the verb and its object noun” (Altenberg 2001: 210). As Altenberg puts it “On the whole, the relative frequency of the various alternatives gives a good indication of this. Dominant alternatives tend to be apprehended as ‘standard’ equivalents and are often presented as such in bilingual dictionaries (Altenberg 2001: 210). In other words, frequency of the occurrence of some constructions may account for how ‘standard’ they are as alternatives to other constructions. For example: *ta en avgjørelse, ta hensyn til, ta telefon, få en kontakt, holde tale* are the standard Norwegian collocations corresponding to *make a decision, make an allowance, make a call, make a speech* and *make a contact* etc. Similarly, *do work, put an end* and *do harm* are natural English correspondences to *gjøre arbeid, gjøre slutt* and *gjøre skade*. Have a look at examples:

(3.35) "Vi holder opp å ta hensyn fra i morgen av. (JSM1T)

(3.36) "We 'll stop making allowances tomorrow. (JSM1)

(3.37) *Safely back in the land of husbands and wives, on whom society smiles, he would vow to put an end to it.* (AB1)

(3.38) *Når han var trygt tilbake i mann-og-kone-land, det som samfunnet ser så velvil-
lig på, sverget han at han ville gjøre slutt på forholdet.* (AB1T)

As Dura and Gawronska (2005) pointed out, knowledge of collocations is very important for language learners. Syntagmatic relations between the words are often problematic and it may be difficult to distinguish between collocations, idioms, compounds, and regular syntactic constructions (Dura and Gawronska 2005:1). In their paper, they have distinguished between regular syntactic phrases, collocations, and idioms, which was suggested by Mel’cuk

at Euralex 1990 (as cited in Dura and Gawronska 2005: 1). What discriminates in the classification process here is the degree of compositionality:

- In idioms, none of the components contributes to the semantics of the phrase.
- In collocations, one of the components contributes to the semantics of the phrase.
- In regular syntactic phrases, all components contribute to the semantics of the phrase.

Taking into consideration the theory on which I am basing the description and classification of the verbs in the research question (see chapter 1, section 1.2) and the classification rules adopted here by Dura and Gawronska, we can observe that these two attitudes have a lot in common in the way the delexical verbs are perceived. Both of these attitudes make it clear that one of the words in the delexical construction carries the meaning of the whole construction and that it is the event noun and not the verb itself. This may again be exemplified by English examples like: *make a concession*, *make a supplication*, *make a difference* and Norwegian examples like: *gjøre et forsøk*, *gjøre ende*, *gjøre en bevegelse* etc.

However, when examining less common collocations I came across a great number of specific collocations displaying a wide range of verbs. English examples corresponding to Norwegian delexical *gjøre* are: *take a decision*, *have experience*, *take a leap*, *give a salute*, *do mischief*, *put up a performance*, *carry out an investigation*, *do an inquiry*, *strike up a friendship*, *assert a right*, *adopt derogations*, *commit a sabotage*, *have effect*, *have a deal*, *carry out an experiment*, *do an experiment*, *put an end*, etc. Norwegian examples corresponding to English delexical *make* are: *foreta en reise*, *foreta disposisjoner*, *gi en garanti*, *foreta beregninger*, *lage en kopi*, *avla løfter*, *skar flenger*, *ha en virkning*, *gi inntekter*, *gi et løfte*, *gjennomføre et raid*, *legge krav*, *stille krav*, *skape et skille*, *få gjennomslag*, *fremsette en klage*, *skape forstyrelser*, *inngå et veddemål*, *lage en forestilling*, *gi en beregning*, *innføre/oppnå en forbedring*, *fastsette en tilpasning*, *bære et offer*, *utarbeide et reglement*, *gi en forordring*, *slutte fred*, *foreta en reduskjon*, *bryte forbindelse*, *slå et tegn*, *ta avskjed*, *rette beskyldningene*, *rette en anmodning*, *lage oppstyr*, *lage en masse ståhei* etc.

Similarly to Altenberg (2001), the striking observation that can be made here is that many less common alternative verb constructions are more specific in meaning than the delexical verb. This can be exemplified by English expressions like: *put up resistance* (*gjøre motstand*), *expend an effort* (*gjøre anstrengelser*), *assert a right* (*gjøre krav*), *strike up a friendship* (*make an acquaintance*), *put up a performance* (*make a show*). And by Norwegian expressions like: *foreta en reise* (*make forays*), *ha et behov* (*make a demand*), *bryte forbindelse* (*make a break*), *vinne innpass* (*make a progress*), *ta avskjed* (*make a greeting*), *foreta en manøver* (*make a choice*), *gjennomføre tiltakene* (*make an effort*), *nedlegge arbeid* (*make an effort*), *komme en*

lang vei (make a trip), *føre en samtale* (make a call), *gi beskjed* (make an arrangement) etc.
Have a look at the examples below:

(3.39) *Men de foretok nå en manøver som sagaen ikke gir noen forklaring på: De seilte i stedet inn i elva, og passerte en stille strekning hvor vannet fløt rolig.* (KP1)

(3.40) *But at this point they made a choice that the saga does not explain. They sailed up the river instead, and passed through a quiet stretch where the water flowed calmly.* (KP1T)

In example (3.39)/(3.40), it is the translated sentence that specifies what kind of action was actually taken. The expression ‘foreta en manøver’ in the original sentence is more general. This also the case in example (3.41)/(3.42). Comparing to ‘å bryte forbindelse’, ‘make a break’ is more general and may have more abstract or concrete meaning depending on the context:

(3.41) *At last, in the spring of 1913, he stirred himself enough to make the break.* (RF1)

(3.42) *Til slutt, våren 1913, fikk han strammet seg opp såpass at han klarte å bryte forbindelsen.* (RF1T)

As I have mentioned before, the choice between the different alternatives depends greatly on the context, which is also a matter of style or register. It will be discussed in the following chapters.

3.5 English and Norwegian single verbs as correspondences.

The single verb construction is the most common alternative to the delexical construction with *make* accounting for 36% of all the occurrences. When it comes to the alternative correspondences of delexical *gjøre*, the single verb construction is second to the congruent alternative.

Norwegian texts are especially rich in single verbs as correspondences of the delexical

combination. There are 186 types and 305 tokens of those verbs in the Norwegian texts while there are 60 types and 89 tokens of those verbs in the English texts. The most common Norwegian verbs in this category are: *elske (med)* (13), *gå* (9), *bestemme seg* (9), *spøke* (7), *bruke* (7), *svare* (7), *bruke* (7), *ordne* (6), *komme med en bemerkning* (5), *si* (5), *svinge* (5), *anstrenge seg* (5), *komme seg ut/ned/over* (4), *ta seg opp igjen* (4), *notere* (4), *konversere* (3), *begynne* (3), *utnytte* (3), *benytte seg (av)* (3), *søle* (3), *leve* (3), *skrive opp/ned* (3), *hjelpe* (3), *ringe* (3). The most common English verbs are: *try* (9), *impress* (8), *serve* (6), *signal* (4), *hope* (4), *end* (3). Hence, we can conclude that the Norwegian language offers a wide range of single verbs that are frequently used as correspondences to delexical constructions with *make*. Tables 3-14 and 3-15 contain samples of single verbs as the only one or one of the few alternatives to the delexical construction in English and Norwegian respectively.

Table 3-14 Examples of Norwegian single verbs as correspondences to English delexical *make*.

English delexical <i>make</i>	Norwegian correspondences		Norwegian single verb correspondent constructions
make love		ha samleie, gjøre kur	elske med (13), ligge sammen, være sammen
make a decision	gjøre et vedtak (2)	ta en avgjørelse (8), treffe en beslutning (2), ta en beslutning (4), treffe en vedtak (2), fatte en vedtak (2), avsi en dom, treffe en avgjørelse (8) etc.	bestemme seg (8), beslutte (2), avgjøre, gjøre seg opp tanker
make a point	gjøre et poeng (2)	ha et poeng,	komme fram til, komme med en bemerkning, gjøre til en regel (2), understreke, peke på,
make an attempt	gjøre et forsøk (17), gjøre framstøt (2), gjøre anstrengelser		orke, forsøke, søke, burde, prøve
make an effort	gjøre et forsøk (2), gjøre anstrengelser	ta bryet, gjennomføre tiltakene, sette in et tiltak, nedlegge arbeid	gjøre noe, anstrenge seg, bestrebe seg (2), ville, burde, arbeide

make use	gjøre bruk (4), gjøre nytte av	ha bruk,	ta til hjelp, bruke (7), ta i bruk (2), benytte (seg) (3), utnytte (3), ta i besittelse, ta i bruk (2), anvende, satse på, utfolde,
make a comment	gjøre en kommentar		si, komme med bemerkninger, kommentere (2)

Table 3-15 Examples of English single verbs as correspondences to Norwegian delexical *gjøre*.

Norwegian <i>gjøre</i>	English correspondences		English single verbs correspondent construction
gjøre et kast			toss (one's head) (2), jerk (one's head), interrupt, thrust
gjøre et tegn	make a sign (4)		indicate (2), signal (4), motion (2), direct,
gjøre opprør			rebel (2), repudiate
gjøre krav		assert a right	claim (2), demand,
gjøre bruk	make use		use, need, adopt
gjøre inntrykk	make an impression (12),	create an impression, give an impression (2), have effect (2)	impress (8), seem, attract
gjøre forsøk	make an effort (2), make an attempt (10), make a stab (at)		try (8), fail, attempt
gjøre motstand	make a resistance	put up a resistance	revolt (against), resist (2), fight back

Often the verb in the single verb construction is derivationally related to the corresponding event noun in the delexical construction in the same language, e.g. *make an attempt* – *attempt*, *make an impression* – *impress*, *gjøre forsøk* – *forsøke*, *gjøre en innrømmelse* – *innrømme* etc. But even if some of those verbs are not related morphologically to the event noun in the delexical construction, they still convey the same basic meaning, for example: *make a movement* – *gesture, sign*; *make a trip* – *travel*; *make fun* – *deride, mock, jeer*; *gjøre vesen av*

– herje, bråke om; gjøre seg en fortjeneste – livnære seg, tjene, livberge seg; gjøre en vedtak – bestemme, beslutte etc.

(3.43) *Men selv i de tre nevnte land var Sovjet villig til å gjøre mindre innrømmelser overfor vestmaktene.* (GL1)

(3.44) *Even in the three countries mentioned, the Soviet Union was willing to make minor concessions to the Western powers.* (GL1T)

(3.45) *Men på det tidspunkt var jeg blitt så interessert at jeg ikke våget å innrømme min manglende åre.* (JW1)

(3.46) *But my interest was so aroused by that time that I dared not admit my lack of talent.* (JW1T)

Examples above, (3.43) – (3.46), do not only prove that certain single verbs are derivationally related to the delexical construction and that they convey the same or similar meanings, but also that the difference between them lies in the way they are used. Apparently, the delexical constructions are more formal so it is not surprising that *gjøre innrømmelser* was found in non-fiction texts and *innrømme* was found in fiction texts. I shall get back to this observation in chapter four.

What is more, Altenberg observes that in cases where a suitable event noun does not seem to be available in the target language, single verbs are the natural option as a correspondence. Examples of this are the English equivalents of: *gjøre et kast* (thrust, toss/jerk one's head), *gjøre opprør* (rebel, repudiate), *gjøre seg håp* (hope), *gjøre en kuvending* (come about), *gjøre et utfall* (attack, strike), *gjøre gjengjeld* (repay), *gjøre en grimase* (grimace), and the Norwegian equivalents of: *make a remark* (komme med en bemerkning/replikk, si), *make a provision* (sørge for, tenke på, legge forholdene til rette), *make a mention* (nevne, omtale), *make an objection* (komme med en innvending), *make a judgement* (komme med en bedømmelse, oppkaste seg til dommer, forhåndsdømme), *make an offer* (tilby, komme med et tilbud), *make a reservation* (bestille), *make derogations* (fravike), *make amends* (bøte på situasjonen), *make a wish* (ønske seg noe), *make a hash* (kludre), *make a fool* (dumme seg ut), *make a correction* (korrigere), *make a bang* (smale), *make a pronouncement* (komme med en uttalelse), *make a talk/conversation* (talk), *make a reply* (svare), *make an answer* (svare), *make a breakthrough* (bryte gjennom), *make a request* (be),

make an affirmation (komme med et utsagn), *make a show* (skape seg, demonstrere) etc.

Examples (3.47)-(3.50) illustrate this:

(3.47) *Men de kom seg ikke rundt da heller, og måtte gjøre kuvending.* (PEJ1)

(3.48) *But that didn't work either, and they had to come about.* (PEJ1T)

(3.49) *"Are you going to run a hotel?" enquired Frederick reasonably, determined not to make a judgement.* (DL1)

(3.50) *"Har dere tenkt å drive hotell?" spurte Frederick fornuftig, fast bestemt på ikke å oppkaste seg til dommer.* (DL1T)

As in the case of previous categories, there are cases where there are not many options available in one of the languages. Examples of English delexical *make* which may be rendered only into a single verb construction are: *make a remark*, *make a provision*, *make a protest*, *make a mention*, *make an offer*, *make a judgement* and *make a trouble*. For example:

(3.51) *I stand behind his chair, watching the drawings, and he points out that this person has put the mouth at the wrong end, that person has made no provision for a heart, yet another one can not tell a male from a female.* (MA1)

(3.52) *Jeg står bak stolen hans og ser på tegningene, og han viser hvordan en har plassert munnen i feil ende, mens en annen har glemt å sørge for plass til hjertet og en tredje ikke kan forskjell på hunnen og hannen.* (MA1T)

There are also numerous cases of constructions that occurred only once, seldom twice, in the corpus and were translated into a single verb construction. These are: *make a reservation* – *bestille*, *make amends* – *bøte på situasjonen*, *make a hash* – *kludre*, *make a wish* (*ønske seg*), *make a fool* – *dumme seg ut*, *make a correction* – *korrigere* etc.

Apart from that, there are many cases where the single verb construction is not the only possible alternative but is definitely a preferred one like the Norwegian correspondences of: *make a comment*, *make use*, *make a statement*, *make a cut(s)*, *make a bet*, *make a journey*, *make way*, *make a mess*, *make an offering(s)*, *make an effort*, *make an attempt*, *make a plan*, *make a note*, *make a point*, *make profits*, *make noises*, *make a sound*, *make love*. When it

comes to the English correspondences of Norwegian delexical *gjøre*, there are no constructions which would be rendered only into a single verb construction. However, there are some cases where this alternative is a preferred one like in: *gjøre et tegn*, *gjøre opprør*, *gjøre krav*, *gjøre bruk*, *gjøre et kast*, *gjøre seg håp*. For example:

(3.53) *Provence måtte da være det stedet som lå så langt borte som jeg kunne gjøre meg håp om å komme fra Distrikt Seks.* (ABR1T)

(3.54) *Surely Provence was just about the farthest I could hope to get away from District Six.* (ABR1)

Then, of course, there were those constructions that appeared infrequently and were rendered into a single verb construction; for example: *gjøre regning* – *assume/count (on sm.)*, *gjøre en pause* – *pause*, *gjøre en grimase* – *grimace*, *gjøre en tilnærming* – *assess* etc.

3.6 Other constructions as correspondences.

The last category of correspondences of delexical *make* and *gjøre* is called “other constructions”. Altenberg (2001) calls it “the wastebasket category” as it includes constructions that did not portray the characteristics of any of the first three categories (see section 2.5, chapter 2).

This last category is least common as a correspondence to delexical constructions in the research question. It accounts for 16% of all occurrences of correspondences of delexical *make* and for 18 % of all occurrences of correspondences of delexical *gjøre*. It is obviously also more heterogenous than the other categories; thus it is difficult to identify patterns of correspondence.

Table 3-16 The distribution of the “other” category of correspondences to delexical *make* (called “other translations”) in fiction and non-fiction texts in originals and translations.

Types of other translations	Fiction Originals	Fiction Translations	Non-fiction Originals	Non-fiction Translations	Total
Left-out	0	2	2	8	12
Nominalization	4	4	8	2	18
Prepositional phrase	2	0	4	3	9
Wrong translation	4	0	0	0	4
Other	17	20	1	10	48
Ø-translation	4	7	5	7	23
Total	31	33	20	30	114

Table 3-17 The distribution of the “other” category of correspondences to delexical *gjøre* (called “other translations”) in fiction and non-fiction in originals and translations.

Types of other translations	Fiction Originals	Fiction Translations	Non-fiction Originals	Non-fiction Translations	Total
Left-out	0	0	1	0	1
Nominalization	0	7	2	4	13
Prepositional phrase	2	3	0	1	6
Wrong translation	0	4	0	0	4
Other	9	11	8	9	37
Ø-translation	3	3	1	3	10
Total	14	28	12	17	71

In opposition to the first three categories, this last category is not a uniform one but still 5 subcategories can be distinguished (see chapter I, section 2.1.4). Examples (3.55) – (3.74)

below serve to illustrate all five categories in English and Norwegian (these categories were described in chapter 2, section 2.1.4):

1. Left out:

(3.55) *“The finishing school had been Martine’s last effort to secure her daughter a future, made in the teeth of opposition both from Cazenove and from Alice. (AB1)*

(3.56) *“Pensjonatskolen for piker var Martines siste innsats for å sikre sin datters fremtid, trass I all motstand fra både Cazenove og Alice. (AB1T)*

(3.57) *Ser Piero ville gjerne gjøre mannen denne tjenesten, og derfor tok han skjoldet med til Firenze (der familien nå åpenbart bodde) og gav oppdraget til Leonardo. (ANR1)*

(3.58) *Piero was very happy to do this, since the man was very adept at snaring birds and fishing and Piero himself very often made use of him in these pursuits. He took the buckler to Florence and without saying a word about whom it belonged to, he asked Leonardo to paint something on it... (ANR1T)*

2. Nominalization:

(3.59) *They lay in their bed, listening to Luke make his baby noises next door, and decided not to say a word until after everyone had gone. (DL1)*

(3.60) *(De lå i sengen, lyttet til Lukes babypludder i siderommet og bestemte seg for ikke å si et ord før alle var reist. (DL1T)*

(3.61) *Heller spise en god lunsj, fryde seg over rikdommen, og så velge ut et stykke brie, et stykke cantal, kanskje peke ut en fin ananas, gjøre forberedelser til middag. (AB1T)*

(3.62) *Better to eat a good lunch, rejoicing in prosperity, and then to select a piece of Brie, a piece of Cantal, perhaps to point to a fine pineapple, in preparation for his evening meal. (AB1)*

3. Prepositional phrase:

(3.63) *Sometimes in a love affair, the lovers make love with the Wild Man — and Wild Woman — right in the room; and if we are those lovers, we may feel certain body cells turn gold that we thought were made entirely of lead. (ROB1)*

(3.64) *Det hender at to elskende under kjærlighetsakten opplever den ville mannens — og den ville kvinnens — nærvær der og da; og hvis vi er de to elskende, kan vi oppleve det som om visse kroppsceller blir gyldne, der vi før trodde det bare fantes bly.* (ROB1T)

(3.65) *Snerpete redaktører prøvde fra tid til annen å jekke henne ned, men hennes tro på seg selv vokste for hvert forsøk hun gjorde, og den viste seg å være begrunnet — de måtte innrømme at hun hadde satset på rett hest.* (MD1T)

(3.66) *Squeamish editors tried from time to time to tone her down, but her faith in herself grew with trial, and proved justified; they had to admit that she was onto a winning streak.* (MD1)

4. Wrong translation (or a translation suggesting a change in meaning):

(3.67) *But Alice liked it when people made the mistake, and she said, "People often take us as brother and sister."* (DL2)

(3.68) *Men Alice likte godt at folk fikk dette inntrykket. "Vi blir ofte tatt for å være søsken," sa hun.* (DL2T)

(3.69) *De oppdaget også at for dem begge lå hensikten ved livet i på en eller annen måte å gjøre innsats.* (NG1T)

(3.70) *They found that for them both the meaning of life seemed to be contained, if mysteriously, in living useful lives.* (NG1)

5. Other translations:

(3.71) *I finished my stay at Campo Allegro by staging a four-day hunger strike, not to make trouble, but because I was scared to death to eat the food they passed in through the hatch.* (JM1T)

(3.72) *Jeg avslutta oppholdet i Campo Allegro med en fire dagers sultestreik. Det var ikke noen bevisst aksjon fra mi side for å tvinge fram et eller annet resultat. Nei, jeg blei bare liva redd for å ete den maten de sendte inn gjennom luka.* (JM1)

(3.73) *Vil du gjøre lykke hos kvinden nu idag.* (LSC2)

(3.74) *"Do you want to be a hit with women nowadays."* (LSC2T)

The sixth category, Ø-translations, was presented in the second chapter (see section 2.1.4, sentences 2.38-2.43).

As we can see in table 3-16 and 3-17, the last one out of those five categories is the most common one. It is made up of those cases that could not be included into the other subcategories of this category. It is most common as it allows for greatest variation in the translation and it does not impose any kind of syntactic form on the translation correspondence. That is why it also includes correspondences in the form of idiomatic expressions.

The reasons for rewriting of that kind can be many, like issues concerning style, idiomatic constructions, individual choice, etc. Such a small number of occurrences of correspondences from the fourth category does not indicate a strong relationship with delexical verbs with *make* and *gjøre*, hence I believe that the current observations about that category are sufficient and no further discussion will follow. Thus, I proceed to the summary of this chapter.

3.7 Concluding remarks.

In this chapter, I presented the distribution of delexical *make* and *gjøre* and their correspondences across original and translation texts in fiction and non-fiction. In this chapter I established some of the similarities and the differences in the use of delexical *make* and delexical *gjøre*. As we could see, the differences between the two verbs are quite marked.

First of all, they are not equally common in English and Norwegian. Delexical *make* is twice as common in the English texts as delexical *gjøre* is in the Norwegian texts.

Secondly, the types of correspondences are the same. The correspondences were grouped into four categories:

1. Congruent constructions with delexical *gjøre/make*.
2. A grammatically equivalent construction with another verb than *gjøre/make*.
3. A construction where the delexical combination has been replaced by a single verb.
4. Various other constructions/Ø-translations (Altenberg, 2001: 200).

However, they are not used in the same way. Delexical *make* is underused in translations, which is not true for delexical *gjøre* as it is significantly overused in translations compared to original texts.

Some common tendencies can also be observed for both verbs. The last three categories of correspondences to the delexical verbs present a similar distribution pattern: the second category is common in the original texts and the third and the fourth categories are more common in the translation texts. The first category is more common in the source texts than in the translation texts. This proves that the delexical construction has important competitors both in English and Norwegian.

Thirdly, the two delexical verbs differ in use with reference to fiction and non-fiction texts. By normalizing the results I proved that surprisingly, delexical constructions are more frequent in the second type of texts. I will try to back this observation up with some explanations and examples in the next chapter.

Finally, I have established the MC value between my verbs and presented each of their correspondences and the tendencies in their use. The tendencies found concern both verbs but to varying degrees. The semantics of *make* and *gjøre* overlap but there are more differences between them when they are used in a delexical construction. The mutual correspondence value between the two verbs is quite low, only 18% of all the occurrences. When it comes to single verb correspondences, delexical *make* is mostly rendered by *do*, which is close to the prototypical meaning, while delexical *gjøre* is often rendered by *ta*, which does not denote the initial meaning of the verb. What is more, taking into consideration the number of types of verbs extracted from the material per number of tokens, Norwegian types of delexical *gjøre* are more numerous than English types of delexical *make* and so Norwegian texts present a greater choice of the alternative correspondent constructions than the English language does even though the English delexical *make* is more numerous than Norwegian delexical *gjøre*. Already here have I also shown that the choice of a verb in the corresponding construction depends on the level of idiomaticity between the verb and its object noun. Very often the less common, alternative verb is more specific in meaning than the original construction and in general, such correspondences are more varied.

Based on those results, I shall focus on the semantics and semantic relations of these constructions and their correspondences in the following chapters.

4. The semantics of delexical *make* constructions and its correspondences.

The current chapter deals with the microscopic analysis of my research material and discusses the semantics and the semantic relations between the delexical *make* and its translations in the ENPC. The syntactic categories established in the second chapter and the distribution results presented in the third chapter are the basis for the analysis in the fourth chapter where the different phenomena connected with the correspondences are discussed.

In order to determine why the delexical verb construction is more common in non-fiction texts, it is important to examine the role that style plays in the use of the delexical verb construction and its equivalents. What is more, I also need to ascertain, whether given the choice between one construction and another, a particular genre will choose a delexical construction over a corresponding construction. Hence, the first section focuses on the functions the delexical verb construction serves in the sentence, the effects that can be achieved with the use of such constructions and how it influences the speaker's choice in regard to this. The second section casts some light on the use of the non-congruent verb constructions as correspondences since they seem to be most common in most cases. The third section deals with the instances of "divergent correspondences" that, for some reason, do not convey the same message as the original construction.

To study stylistic choices, types of corresponding constructions were coded as shown in chapter I (see section 1.5.4, page 24).

4.1 The reasons for the use of delexical verb constructions.

Language is a tool for people to express their viewpoints, to influence other peoples' opinions and behaviour. There are several devices or strategies that allow speakers to realize their different aims in the communication process and the delexical verb construction is among them. In this subchapter I shall try to cast some light on the different uses of delexical verbs.

As I mentioned before, delexical verb constructions have nowadays become quite popular in terms of usage (see chapter 1. section 1.4), which does not mean that they have become easier in use. In the first chapter I have described the unique character of this verb construction and its place in grammar. But apart from that, delexical

constructions have special uses in language. Algeo claims that the increase in the use of delexical verb constructions was not only caused by grammatical changes in English but also by the rhetorical and stylistic functions they serve. As Allan (1998) suggests, similarly to Quirk et. al. (1985) “the use of constructions of that kind allows for different conceptualizations of a given situation: when a simple verbal form such as *attempt* is used, the focus of the speaker is on the action, whereas when the nominal form of the same verb in a delexical structure such as *make an attempt* is used, the speaker delimits the activity or event he is naming in this way of temporal boundaries or a sense of completeness” (Allan,1). Compare:

- (4.1) *They fought for a long time.*
- (4.2) *They had a long fight.* (Quirk et al. 1995: 1354).
- (4.3) *Jack fought the urge to apologise.* (ST1) (fiction)
- (4.4) *Jack bet tennene sammen og lot være å be om unnskyldning.* (ST1T)
- (4.5) *We had a fight, just pushing.* (RDO1) (fiction)
- (4.6) *Vi sloss, bare dyttet.* (RDO1T)

This has to do with “‘communicative dynamism’, which refers to the variation in communicative value as between different parts of an utterance” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1356). Quirk et. al. observe that the English language makes it possible for the speakers to change the order of different units in a sentence with the use of different lexical and grammatical devices. In this way, speakers can distribute the information in a sentence according to their wishes and move the focus to end position. It may be illustrated by the subject, verb and adjunct in the sentence below where they are placed according to the increasing prominence. The subject is conveying least information, the verb is conveying a bit more and the adjective carries most information:

- (4.7) *She will decide next week.* (Quirk et al. 1985: 1356)

This can also be exemplified by paraphrases below:

- (4.8) *A red sports car was behind the bus.*
- (4.9) *The bus was in front of a red sports car.* (Quirk et al.1985: 1390)

The underlined items are so-called 'converses' i.e. they express the same meaning but with a reversal of the order of participants (Quirk et al. 1985: 1390). This is an example of a technique called “relexicalization” (Sylvianne Granger 2003: 163). Here are some more examples from the corpus where the ‘relexicalization’ tactic was used when translating the sentences into the target language:

(4.10) *"That really is very good indeed," Miss Honey said, making the understatement of her life. (RD1)*

(4.11) *Det var virkelig bra, sa frøken Honey og visste at hun i hvert fall ikke overdrev. (RD1T)*

(4.12) *Every time he came in, he smiled and said, "Hello, Ginny," and when he went away, he told me when he 'd be home, and made a point of saying good-bye. (JSM1)*

(4.13) *Hver gang han kom inn av døra, smilte han og sa: "Hei, Ginny," og når han gikk ut, sa han alltid fra når jeg kunne vente ham hjem igjen, og glemte aldri å si adjø. (JSM1T)*

A similar method can be applied to create delexical combinations. As Quirk et al. put it, we can do it by “‘stretching’ the predicate into a multi-word structure by replacing the intransitive verb with a transitive one of a very general meaning, taking as its eventive object a nominalization of the intransitive item” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1401). Compare:

(4.14) *If we are assessed individually, and our Social Security is adjusted individually, then no. (DL2)*

(4.15) *Hvis de fastsetter en leie for hver av oss, som enkeltpersoner, og trekker det fra trygda, så nei. (DL2T)*

(4.16) *If they make an assessment for rent and rates and put it on all our Social on an individual basis, then that would suit some and not others. (DL2)*

(4.17) *Hvis de gjør et overslag over leie og avgifter og trekker det fra trygda for hver enkelt av oss, så ville det passe bra for noen, og ikke for andre. (DL2T)*

In the case of examples (4.14) – (4.17), we can see that it is valid for both English and Norwegian.

Quirk et al. claim that in the case of a ditransitive⁷ construction with eventive objects, “we have a device which is convenient when our communicative requirement is to put focal emphasis on the activity rather than on a human participant” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1396). In other words, the goal is to draw our attention to the fact that someone performs an action, not that someone affects or creates something (Algeo 2001: 174). What is more, Quirk et. al. observe that such constructions are preferred in informal texts (Quirk et al. 1985: 1401). Compare:

(4.18) *We paid them a visit = We paid a visit to some old friends.*

(4.19) *He gave Helen a nudge = He gave a nudge to Helen.* (Quirk et al. 1985: 1396)

However, this does not have to be true for all delexical constructions as it was shown in the third chapter where I proved that in the case of my material, the verbs in my research question are more common in the non-fiction texts.

When it comes to the monotransitive delexical constructions, they are sometimes used to avoid a simple unmodified SV clause, which is not favored in English as it may sound incomplete (Quirk et al. 1985: 1401). Compare:

(4.20) *My friend cooked.*

(4.21) *My friend did the cooking.* (Quirk et al. 1985: 1402)

(4.22) *She's making a special effort, really trying to make contact.* (KF1T)

(4.23) *Hun anstrenger seg, hun er virkelig søkende etter kontakt.* (KF1)

The last example, (4.22)/(4.23), is taken from the ENPC corpus. It is obvious that this sentence would sound odd if there was a simple verb used instead of the delexical verb construction.

The above mentioned observations seem to provide for the reasons behind the use of delexical verbs. But there is more to it. The next step in the use of delexical verb constructions is

⁷A construction that takes two objects in its verb pattern. In the case below, 'a visit' is the direct object and 'old friends' the indirect object.

the choice of the support verb. Algeo (1995) claims that this choice depends on the distinction between a semantically general and semantically specific verb. The verb *make* is semantically general but together with the change of the type of texts, its level of generality or specificity may change as well. There is a limited number of eventive objects that semantically specific verbs may collocate with as in the examples below e.g.:

- *ask a question, pick a quarrel etc.* (see section 3.4 in chapter 3).

Such verbs have a restricted, more specific sense and hence shorter dictionary entries. In opposition to them, semantically general verbs, like *make*, have idiomatic, non-predictable meanings and have long dictionary entries as they have many different senses depending on the context. Such verbs tend to have a high number of different eventive objects in delexical constructions (Algeo 1995: 206). It is also often the case that some nouns may collocate with a few verbs e.g. *make a choice* and *have a choice*, but it is not always the rule, that in combination with some nouns, the use of *make* is obligatory.

Dura and Gawronska (2005) added to the discussion on the idiomatic character of delexical constructions and came up with the expression “conceptual collocation” which was first used by Martin (1992) and Heid (1994): “In a conceptual collocation, a co-occurent (e.g. a support verb) does not combine with one single term only; instead, it selects a group of terms that normally share certain semantic features. Conceptual collocations can therefore be described in terms of selectional restrictions, and this in turn may enable a direct transfer of svc components in machine translation” (as cited in Dura and Gawronska 2005: 2). In the material extracted for my study, both expressions, *have a choice* and *make a choice*, are common. The first one conveys the potential to choose and the latter one suggests a more dynamic exertion of will. *Make*, in the first sentence below, conveys the sense of *do*. Compare:

(4.24) *"Et puis voilà," said Menicucci, and looked at me expectantly, as though I now had the world of central heating at my fingertips, and could make an intelligent and informed choice.* (PM1)

(4.25) *"Et puis voilà, hva synes De så?" sa Menicucci og så forventningsfullt på meg, som om jeg nå hadde alt om sentralvarme i min hule hånd, og kunne velge fornuftig og velbetenkt blant alle mulighetene.* (PM1T)

(4.26) *Most of the women had no choice: it was either that or they would be left empty-handed.* (ABR1)

(4.27) *De fleste av kvinnene hadde ikke noe valg: enten dette, eller de sto igjen med tomme hender.* (ABR1T)

We can see in example (4.27) that it is paralleled in the Norwegian *ha/ta et valg*. I shall comment on it in the next chapter.

Because of that feature, the verb *make*, which is the most common among support verbs, is often used as a so called “joker support verb”, even in cases where specific lexicalized alternatives are available e.g. *deliver a speech* and *make a speech* (Dura and Gawronska 2005: 2). Hence, we can say that the use of a more general verb seems easier and safer in cases where the speaker is not sure which verb he or she is supposed to use in a particular expression. It may be very well illustrated by the verb *do*, which is often replaced by a more exact meaning, e.g.:

(4.28) *Will you do the silver?*

(4.29) *Will you polish the silver?* (Quirk et. al. 1985:)

The latter verb is semantically heavier, more specific than *do* in relation to silver, indicating the manner in which the action is to be done. The fact that sometimes it is possible to choose between few, more general, verbs (Stein) like *make/give/take a chat*, proves that these verbs are not semantically empty (Stein 1991, as cited in Algeo 1995: 208). In other cases, more than one such verb is applicable with little difference in referential meaning: *have a nap/take a nap; make/take a decision*. This is an example of a paradigmatic relation⁸.

Constructions with support verbs are very frequent and pose serious problems, especially that in many cases they are wrongly translated by a default correspondent:

Here are examples of possible translation errors which were not found in the corpus but are provided here for the purpose of comparison. The verbs in the brackets are the correct correspondences that were found in the corpus:

- *make a comment* – *gjøre en bemerkning (gjøre en kommentar)*
- *make an impact* – *gjøre (ha) en virkning*

⁸ It holds between the items which can occupy the same position in a grammatical structure (Dura and Gawronska 2005).

- *make a test – gjøre (ta) en prøve*
- *make an answer – gjøre (svare) svar*
- *make a guarantee – gjøre (gi) garanti*
- *gjøre erfaringer – make (have) experiences*
- *gjøre sin plikt – make (do) one's duty*
- *gjøre ugagn – make (do) mischief*

In addition to the above mentioned ones, there are a few additional factors that may contribute to the popularity of those constructions. Namely, constructions with a nominal event noun can be modified in different ways, which is not possible with single verbs. It can be illustrated by the example (4.24) and its translation. Apart from that, delexical constructions fulfill certain syntactic functions thanks to the nominal objects, which would not be possible otherwise. For example, as in the sentence (4.30) below, they can serve the role of the antecedent of relative clauses or as the subjects of agentless passive clauses (sentence 4.32) (Altenberg 2001: 216):

(4.30) *They were already in positions of responsibility when Hitler's armies reached the gates of Moscow, so they remembered the imminence of defeat, and the kind of sacrifices the Soviet people could make and still survive. (MAW1)*

(4.31) *Da Hitlers armeer stod utenfor Moskva, satt de allerede i ansvarsfulle stillinger. De husket hvor nær de hadde vært ved å bli slått, og hvilke ofre Sovjet-folket var istand til å bære og likevel overleve. (MAW1T)*

(4.32) *(b) the Council shall, on the basis of a report from the Commission, assess the progress made with regard to economic and monetary convergence, in particular with regard to price stability and sound public finances, and the progress made with the implementation of Community law concerning the internal market. (MAAS1)*

(4.33) *skal Rådet på grunnlag av en melding fra Kommisjonen vurdere den fremgang som er gjort i økonomisk og penge- og valutamessig tilnærming, særlig med sikte på prisstabilitet og sunne offentlige finanser, og den fremgang som er gjort i gjennomføringen av Fellesskapets regelverk om det indre marked. (MAAS1T)*

As we can see, sentence (4.30) and (4.33) present the same phenomenon so it is true for both English and Norwegian.

Another reason for the choice of the delexical verb construction is a matter of register. Douglas Biber (1992) in his article *The multi-dimensional approach to linguistic analysis of genre variation. An overview of methodology and findings* presents the major methods of the multi-dimensional approach to genre variation. He provides five dimensions of variation that are identified for English. Each of them is represented by co-occurrence patterns which contribute to the characteristics of different genres. Using this framework, he can compare and characterize texts in several genres. Every text type is described with respect to those five dimensions. According to that, official documents are formal, informational, non-narrative or markedly narrative, non-persuasive, elaborated and abstract (Biber 1992: 337). Genres like official documents and academic prose have very high frequencies of nouns, prepositional phrases, etc., plus very low frequencies of private verbs and verbs in general (Biber 1992: 337). Fiction, on the other hand, is situated, non-persuasive and non-abstract (Biber 1992: 337). I mention this with reference to another study that Biber describes in the same article: he draws our attention to a large study carried out by Biber and Finegen (1989) on the historical development of English genres from the late 17th century to the present, focusing on 3 genres: essays, fiction and personal letters (Biber 1992: 337). This study shows that there has been a steady 'drift' to more 'oral' styles in all 3 genres. It means that written genres nowadays steadily permit a more situated, less abstract and more involved style than before. Coming back to the register matters, as I mentioned before, delexical verbs tend to be used more frequently in fiction, that is, in less formal texts. However, my distribution figures presented in the third chapter illustrate that in case of my material, the delexical verb construction is more common in the non-fiction texts. I believe we can see this as a partial explanation for this phenomenon and the increase in the use of delexical verbs as for verbs in general. We should also keep in mind that what I am comparing here is only one pair of delexical verbs so those results do not need to be valid for all delexical verbs and their correspondences in English and Norwegian.

In addition to it, the choice of alternative verb is also a matter of style or register. Some constructions are restricted to certain types of texts, which, in other words, means that they are technical, highly register-specific and non-standard collocations. They may have lower frequencies (Palmer 1998:93). However, even though their distribution numbers are not high in general, they may be higher in more formal texts, as my examples show, and so contribute

to the fact that delexical verb constructions are more frequent in non-fiction texts than in fiction texts as in the material I extracted for my research. Here are some of the constructions that were found in legal texts only:

- *make an order, make a complaint, make derogations, make recommendations* as in:

(4.34) *Where the existence of an excessive deficit is decided according to paragraph 6, the Council shall make recommendations to the Member State concerned with a view to bringing that situation to an end within a given period.* (MAAS1)

(4.35) *Dersom det etter nr. 6 er fastslått at et for stort underskudd foreligger, skal Rådet rette rekommandasjoner til vedkommende medlemsstat med sikte på å bringe forholdet til opphør innen en fastsatt frist.* (MAAS1T)

(4.36) *Derogations may be made from Articles 3, 4, 5, 8 and 16 by means of collective agreements or agreements concluded between the two sides of industry at national or regional level or, in conformity with the rules laid down by them, by means of collective agreements or agreements concluded between the two sides of industry at a lower level.* (EEA1)

(4.37) *Artikkel 3, 4, 5, 8 og 16 kan fravikes ved tariffavtaler eller avtaler inngått mellom partene i arbeidslivet på nasjonalt eller regionalt plan, eller, i samsvar med reglene fastsatt av disse partene i arbeidslivet, ved tariffavtaler eller avtaler inngått mellom parter i arbeidslivet på et lavere nivå.* (EEA1T)

One of the outcomes of using delexical verb constructions (congruent constructions) as correspondences may be the underuse of constructions that have no cognate forms in the target language. Since my material is not that vast, I have not come across many cases of such constructions and I cannot be totally certain that those constructions illustrate this but below I present some constructions that were translated into non-congruent constructions and have low frequency:

- *make a stop* – *stanse, stikke innom*
- *make a provision* – *sørge for, tenke på, legge forholdene til rette*
- *make a judgement* – *komme med en bedømmelse*
- *make an appearance* – *Ø-translation*

4.2 The reasons for the use of single verbs as correspondences.

As we saw in chapter 3, single verb constructions are the most common alternatives to the delexical constructions with *make* and they are the second most common alternative to the delexical *gjøre*. There are a few factors that may affect the choice between a single verb construction and a delexical verb construction. As Altenberg puts it: “(...) depending on the context, constructions with an event noun or a single verb offer different structural and communicative advantages that may be decisive for the choice of alternative” (2001: 217).

One of those factors is lack of a suitable event noun. For example, *gjøre kuvending* is adequately rendered by *come about* as in the example below:

(4.38) *Men de kom seg ikke rundt da heller, og måtte gjøre kuvending.* (PEJ1)

(4.39) *But that didn't work either, and they had to come about.* (PEJ1T)

English *make allowances* seems to be best rendered by *ta til hensyn* like in:

(4.40) *Can't you just make allowances?* (JSM1)

(4.41) *Kan du ikke ta litt hensyn...* (JSM1T)

In cases we want to focus on the human participant in an utterance, we should not use the eventive object. For example:

(4.42) *He didn't offer them a seat.* (KA1T)

* (4.42 a) *He did not make them an offer of a seat.*

Such cases found in the ENPC are quite numerous:

- *make love* – *elske med*
- *make a provision* – *sørge for, tenke på, legge forholdene til rette*
- *make a mess* – *søle, grise, rote*

- *make a wish* – *ønske seg*
- *make a show* – *demonstrere, skape seg*
- *make an escape* – *rømme*

Similarly to that which I observed in the previous section, the choice between the delexical construction and the single verb construction is also a matter of style and register. Single verbs are often used to convey a suitable degree of formality or informality (Altenberg 2001: 214). English examples are: *try* and *attempt* (gjøre et forsøk), *fight back* and *resist* (gjøre motstand). This is also the case when it comes to multi-word verbs that serve as single verbs. They are often more formal than single-word verbs, for example: *peke på* and *komme med en bemerkning* (make a point). Similarly, *si* and *komme med bemerkninger* (make a comment).

And at last, in opposition to what I said before, if there is no need to focus on the activity, a single transitive verb is a more proper translation alternative to multi-word verb constructions, which is illustrated by sentence (4.42) above.

4.3 Divergent correspondences.

In my material, I have observed several cases of the so-called ‘divergent correspondences’ (Johansson 2007: 25). They are a common phenomenon even in the case of closely related languages like English and Norwegian. They can be looked upon as indicating the kind and scope of differences between such languages and proves that the fact that the two languages are very similar does not rule out divergent correspondences between them. The use of comparable corpus like the ENPC enables us to detect such irregularities. The divergent correspondences may be of a different nature.

For some constructions there is a flaw in correspondence between the expanded predicate and a corresponding single verb. It may concern different aspects of meaning and grammar form.

First of all, some constructions do not have a parallel single-word verb in present-day use: *make fun*, *make an effort*.

Secondly, some other constructions have a non-cognate single-word verb as a correspondence: *make love* = *copulate*.

Thirdly, the eventive noun is morphologically related to a single-word verb, but the expanded predicate differs semantically from this verb. The syntactic difference lies also in the fact that the verb *love* needs an object but the noun does not. Incidentally, the corresponding verb in Norwegian is acceptable without an object as in (4.44).

(4.43) *We make love.* (CL1T)

* (4.43 a) *We love.*

(4.44) *Vi elsker.* (CL1)

Below we can see single verb correspondent constructions which were suggested for the constructions found in my research material but which do not carry the same meaning. The suggested translations were not found in the corpus but made up for the purpose of comparison. Compare:

- *make love* ≠ *love*
- *make a noise* ≠ *noise*
- *make an allegation* ≠ *allege*
- *make a sign* ≠ *sign*
- *make a break* ≠ *break*
- *make peace* ≠ *peace*

What I can point out here is that the meaning of the verb seems to be dependent to some extent on the syntactic form in which it occurs.

Below is a list of examples that appeared in the ENPC where the correspondences do not display the same morphological form as the eventive noun in most cases and convey different meanings from the original constructions. In some cases the difference is quite slight. Compare:

- *make a transition* – gjøre en/sitt inntog
- *make an affirmation* – komme med et utsagn
- *make an adjustment* – ta seg opp igjen
- *make a difference* – bestemme, nytte
- *make a remark* – si
- *make an approach* – ta opp
- *make a move* – foreta seg noe forhastet
- *make a fuss* – legge stor vekt på
- *make an attempt* – burde, søke
- *make a difference* – nytte
- *make a call* – beordre
- *make an effort* – ta seg på tak, ville, burde, arbeide, sette in et tiltak, ta bryet, sette alt innpå etc.
- *make fun* – drive gjøn med noen, drive/garpe streker, holde leven med noen
- *make a demand* – trekke en veksel

However, if we had a look at those constructions and how they were used in different contexts we would see that they can be treated as correspondences as they fit those contexts. The example below exemplifies that phenomenon:

(4.45) *It was not until this century that women really made their mark on the history of philosophy.* (JG1T)

(4.46) *Først i vårt århundre kommer kvinnene ordentlig inn i filosofiens historie.* (JG1)

(4.47) *There was silence from his family, although his mother in Leiden supplied the necessary written consent, making her mark with an X.* (JH1)

(4.48) *Hans egen familie forholdt seg taus, selv om hans mor i Leiden fremskaffet det nødvendige skriftlige samtykket og satte sitt merke med et kryss.* (JH1T)

The important thing here is to distinguish between the literal and abstract meanings. Other examples of that kind are: *make a stop*, *make way*, *make a cut/cuts*, *make a move* as in:

(4.49) *Three blocks up, I made a stop, ducking into the supermarket to pick up milk, Diet Pepsi, bread, eggs, and toilet paper.* (SG1)

(4.50) *Etter tre kvartaler stanset jeg og smatt inn i supermarkedet for å kjøpe melk, kalorifattig Pepsi, brød, egg og toalettpapir.* (SG1T)

(4.51) *He wondered if he should not make a quick stop at Buhagens before heading into the woods.* (KAL1T)

(4.52) *Likevel stakk kulda ham i ansiktet, og han undret seg på om han ikke le stikke innom på Buhagen som snarest før han dro til skogs.* (KAL1)

I can conclude that in many cases the material offers a greater variety of translations of some constructions than the dictionary does and the meaning is being expanded in a way. For example:

(4.53) *But it wouldn't make much difference.* (JM1T)

(4.54) *Men lite ville det ha nytta.* (JM1)

Altenberg (2001) calls this phenomenon ‘a lexical specification’, which indicates how naturalness can be achieved (Altenberg 2001: 214). This can be illustrated by *make a living*, *make way*, *make noise*. All of them carry slightly different meanings depending on the context in which they occur. In such cases, the delexical verb constructions with a semantically general event noun is rendered by a semantically more specific single verb in the target language as it fits the context better. In other words, the use of a single verb correspondence in those cases advantages the disambiguation of a more general, even polysemous event noun. Sometimes, an additional item has to be used in an utterance in order to achieve this specification and it is often an adjective that serves this role. Some English examples are:

(4.55) *With her new amplitude her bustling demeanour made a more genuine impression.* (AB1)

(4.56) *Med hennes nye fylde virket den geskjeftige fremferden hennes mer ekte.* (AB1T)

(4.57) *If only I 'd had B here I could have taken his arm and strutted past Pernette, as good a bird of paradise as she is, and made my slinky way past Bruno, a far more potent temptress than Jeanne.* (SL1T)

(4.58) *Hadde jeg hatt B her, kunne jeg tatt ham i armen og spankulert forbi Pernette, like mye påfugl som henne, og ålet meg forbi Bruno, mye mer fristerinne enn Jeanne.* (SL1)

(4.59) *The drive for Cherbourg had thus failed to achieve its principal strategic purpose, and when the Americans renewed their attack southwards, they made slow progress through the bocage.* (MH1)

(4.60) *Kampen om Cherbourg hadde dermed ikke nådd sitt viktigste strategiske mål, og da amerikanerne fornyet angrepene sørover, gikk det langsomt overbocage - landskapet-landskapet.* (MH1T)

Perfect examples of that kind are mostly correspondences of delexical English combinations involving the nouns ‘sound(s)’ and ‘noise(s)’ which were found in the corpus:

- *make contended noises* – *komme med sine tilfredse lyder*:
- *make whistling noises* – *utstøtte små plystrelyder*:
- *make ticking noises* – *lage klikkelyder*:
- *make banging noises* – *det skraller (i) (radiatoren)*:
- *make strange noises* – *lage noen merkelige lyder*
- *make loud noise* – *kan høres langt borte*
- *make noise (around sm.)* – *ståke (rundt noen)*
- *make noise (with sth.)* – *skramle (med noe)*
- *make noises* – *grynte*

- *make a whimpering sound* – *komme med en halvkvalt, klynkende lyd*
- *make a gentle clicking sound* – *klapre*
- *make a moaning sound* – *stone*
- *make a clucking sound (of disapproval)* – *smatte (misbilligende)*

The choice of the corresponding verb in the translation in expressions above, depends on the adjective describing the sound in the source text in English. So the adjectives like *moaning*, *clicking*, *banging* are the decisive feature here. Here are some examples in context found in the corpus:

(4.61) *The phone started to make gravelly noises. (PM1)*

(4.62) *Telefonen gryntet under hatten. (PM1T)*

(4.63) *Heavy thick material enveloped them and they pushed it away from their faces, drawing the curtain back with a swish, its rings making a gentle clicking sound along the pole. (RR1)*

(4.64) *De ble viklet inn i et tykt og tungt stoff som de dyttet vekk fra ansiktene, idet de drog fra gardinet med en rask bevegelse. Gardin ringene klapret da de ble dratt bort-over stangen. (RR1T)*

(4.65) *It made a moaning sound. (RR1)*

(4.66) *Det stønnet. (RR1T)*

I have also come across a couple of translation pairs that do not carry the same meaning. *Make adjustment* is not about ‘recovering’ in the examples below:

(4.67) *The fishing industry had never been able to make all the necessary adjustments after the herring began to disappear. (ABJH1T)*

(4.68) *Fiskeindustrien hadde ikke tatt seg opp igjen etter at silda begynte å forsvinne. (ABJH1)*

In some cases the correspondences do not convey the same level of formality as the original constructions and are distinctly informal. For example:

(4.69) *Operation Epsom, as it was called, made rapid initial progress, but then met heavy resistance.* (MH1)

(4.70) *Operasjon Epsom som den ble kalt, gikk fint i begynnelsen, men så møtte den sterk motstand.* (MH1T)

(4.71) *Jacob then made this request, "I beg you, tell me your name."* (KAR1)

(4.72) *Da bad Jakob: "Kjære, si meg navnet ditt!"* (KAR1T)

Gikk fint does not convey the same message as *make rapid progress* and is very informal.

In other cases, correspondences from the second category of correspondences seem more formal than single verb correspondences. Compare *ta en beslutning* and *bestemme seg*:

(4.72) *Disillusioned with the cottage and its problems, he had boarded up the windows and returned to Toronto, meaning eventually to come back and make a final decision about his ill-advised purchase.* (PDJ3)

(4.73) *I skuffelsen over huset og problemene med det hadde han satt lemmer for vinduene og reist hjem til Toronto; før eller siden ville han komme tilbake og ta en endelig beslutning om det uheldige kjøpet.* (PDJ3T)

(4.74) *My own decision was made when my mother casually mentioned in a letter that a couple of my friends from Stellenbosch University were also on the point of leaving.* (ABR1)

(4.75) *Jeg selv bestemte meg da min mor i et brev i forbifarten nevnte at et par av vennene mine fra Stellenbosch universitet også holdt på å dra.* (ABR1T)

4.4 Concluding remarks.

The analysis of the semantics of delexical *make* and its correspondences was quite complex a task. I have made many quite useful observations in this chapter and backed them up with examples from the corpus. This helped me to point out the factors that play an important role in the choice between the four main types of constructions as correspondences. They are quite numerous.

One of the first factors is availability of an event noun or a single verb (Altenberg 2001: 215). If the event noun is not available, the original utterance will most commonly be translated into a non-congruent construction, often into a single verb construction or a multi-word construction functioning as a single verb. If the single verb is not available, the utterance in the original language will most probably be rendered into a congruent construction, or possibly, into a delexical construction with another verb.

Semantic differences between an eventive noun and a verb constitute another factor (Altenberg 2001: 215). If the single verb does not convey the same message as the eventive noun in the original utterance the translator will find another way to express the same meaning, most probably by a multi-word verb construction. It is important to remember that verbs like *make* or *gjøre* are safe in use due to the fact that they are general in meaning which can be modified in this way. Another aspect of meaning that has to be taken into consideration when translating delexical verbs into a target language is the distinction between a literal and an abstract meaning. Using an adjective describing the activity in the original constructions or single verb correspondences may help us specify the meaning of the original utterance.

As we remember, co-occurrence restrictions (collocation and idiomaticity), are crucial in the process of translation as well as limiting the choice of the correspondences (Altenberg 2001: 215). Similarly, contextual appropriateness (style and register) indicate what forms are appropriate or not as correspondences in certain types of texts and, as such, they function as a limiting factor. Both the choice of the verb in the delexical construction and the verb in the correspondent construction depends on the style and register.

And last but not least, grammatical and communicative advantages of eventive nouns or single verbs are a substantial factor as such linguistic items are language devices that serve special purposes in the utterance (Altenberg 2001: 215). With the use of this particular con-

struction, we can place the information in a sentence wherever we want and, in this way, underline what is important for us.

In the next chapter I will reflect on the same issues concerning delexical *gjøre* and its correspondences.

5. The semantics of delexical constructions with *gjøre* and its correspondences.

This chapter is parallel with the previous one, which means that it discusses the semantics and the semantic relations between delexical *gjøre* and its correspondences in the ENPC. One of my aims in this chapter is to check whether the speakers of Norwegian use the same method to create delexical constructions and if they do it out of the same reasons as speakers of the English language.

The first section focuses on the different functions the delexical verb construction has in the sentence, on what can be achieved with the use of such constructions and on the way it influences the speaker's choice. The second section discusses the use of the non-congruent verb constructions as correspondences since they are the second most common alternative to the delexical verb construction. In the third section I take into consideration the instances of "divergent correspondences". And last but not least, the fourth section summarizes the observations made in the first three sections concerning the conditioning factors behind the use of the delexical and other types of verb constructions, and compares them with those made in the fourth chapter.

Some of the features of Norwegian delexical *gjøre* were already presented in the fourth chapter when English delexical *make* was discussed and there is no need to repeat those observations here.

My aim here is to also discover whether there are any new phenomena specific to the Norwegian language.

5.1 The reasons for the use of delexical verb constructions.

The similarities between English delexical *make* and Norwegian delexical *gjøre* are numerous. *Gjøre* is a frequent verb in Norwegian, like *make* in English, and delexical uses of this verb are quite frequent as well. Similarly, delexical *gjøre* is used for special rhetorical and stylistic purposes. My observations show also that the methodology of the creation process is the same. In the previous chapter, examples (4.15) and (4.17), illustrate that a similar tactic can be used to create a delexical verb construction in the Norwegian language. "The

stretching” of the predicate is carried out by moving some units in the sentence which results in putting the focal emphasis on the activity rather than on the human participant.

As in English, there are cases where the sentence would sound odd if we used a simple verb instead of the delexical verb construction. For example:

(5.1) *Han gjorde et opphold*. (DF1T)

(5.2) *He paused*. (DF1)

The English translation here sounds fine but it is not clear what kind of action was actually taken. The Norwegian original utterance is more specific.

Gjøre is also quite often used as a ”joker support verb” in delexical verb combinations, even in cases where it can be substituted by a more specific verb. For example: *begå en feil, utvirke en endring, fatte en beslutning, ta en sving, innebære en forskjell*. In many cases such specific verbs might be preferred. Similarly to English ”make/ have/give a choice”, Norwegian has quite many possibilities here like ”*ta/ha/gjøre/treffe/foreta/gi et valg*”. The choice of the support verb in such cases influences the referential meaning. Compare the sentences below:

(5.3) *Hvis noen ville bråke om det hadde man alltid gjengene, institusjoner som var "like enkle som Nord og Sør" der "en guttunge ikke har noe valg*. (RF1T)

(5.4) *If somebody did want to make a fuss about it then there were always the gangs, institutions which were "as simple as North and South" in which "a kid has no choice*. (RF1)

(5.5) *Ved dette skillet mellom poetenes allegori som er så tydelig svak og en teologenes allegori som på samme tid er sann og profetisk, er det opplagt hvorfor Dante gjorde sitt valg*. (HB1T)

(5.6) *On this distinction between an allegory of the poets that is so palpably weak and an allegory of the theologians at once true and prophetic, it is obvious why Dante made his choice*. (HB1)

(5.7) *Even that wasn't a freedom any more, I said, because doctors are so damn scared of prosecution they wouldn't dream of giving a patient the choice*.” (MW1)

(5.8) *Selv det var ingen frihet lenger, sa jeg, for legene er så fordømt redde for søksmål at de ikke drømmer om å gi en pasient et slikt valg.*" (MW1T)

The difference in the meaning between all three combinations of different verbs with the noun “valg” is substantial and obvious here and has to do with the degree of the executive power over the choice we or the people involved here have. The first example, (5.3)/(5.4), indicates that the person involved has no executive power and has to give in or follow others’ orders. Example (5.5)/(5.6) indicates that the person involved has control over the situation and has the power to take an action, while the last example, (5.7)/(5.8), indicates that one may take an action only after having received permission from someone.

Relexicalizations of the original utterances in the target language are quite common in Norwegian as well. In (5.9)/(5.10) and in (5.11)/(5.12), the Norwegian translator has chosen a delexical construction with *gjøre* as a correspondence even if the original English construction was different. Compare the translation pairs below:

(5.9) *Den siste fortvilte bønnen gjorde ikke inntrykk på damen bak rattet.* (PDJ3T)

(5.11) *The final desperate plea left the driver unmoved.* (PDJ3)

(5.12) *Symbolikken i denne hendelsen unngikk ikke å gjøre inntrykk på ham, og hver gang han senere i livet skrev om det gjorde han små, men betydningsfulle, endringer i historien.* (RF1T)

(5.13) *The symbolic potential of this incident did not escape Henry, and on each of the many occasions in later life on which he wrote about it he made slight but significant alterations to the story.* (RF1)

In this last example, (5.12), I underlined “unngikk ikke å gjøre inntrykk” as not only the delexical verb construction but the whole expression was rendered into “did not escape” meaning “it made an impression”.

This phenomenon reminds me about the English constructions with words like “sound” and “noise” where the type of the adjective describing the activity was a critical point in the choice of the verb in the correspondence in the target language. In English, in some cases, it would be difficult to express the desired meaning and achieve the specific effect otherwise.

However, it is not always true for Norwegian. Translations of that kind from the English language into the Norwegian, seem very literal, like in examples from the corpus below:

- *gjøre et bevisst valg – make a knowing selection*
- *gjøre en liten bevegelse – make a little movement*
- *gjøre ikke lite inntrykk – make no small impression*
- *gjøre et personlig og jordnært inntrykk – give a personal and earthy impression*
- *gjøre fotarbeidet – do the spadework*
- *gjøre skikkelig arbeid – do a good job*
- *gjøre den motsatte reisen – make a reverse journey*

Have a look at some translation pairs taken from the ENPC:

(5.14) *De hadde alle gjort et tappert forsøk på å leve, men det var blitt for komplisert og de hadde i stedet konsentrert seg om pengene.* (OEL1)

(5.15) *They had all made a bold stab at living, but it had been too complicated and they had concentrated on money instead.* (OEL1T)

(5.16) *Denne tanken gjorde ikke lite inntrykk på meg.* (LSC2)

(5.17) *That thought made no small impression on me.* (LSC2T)

Both (5.14)/(5.15) and (5.16)/(5.17) convey exactly the same message using the same type of verb construction and words having equivalent meanings.

When it comes to the difference in the use of delexical verb constructions with *gjøre* with reference to genre, they are more common in the fiction texts, which is normal.

It is not difficult to distinguish between more or less formal correspondences. The instances of constructions found in the corpus in the given text types are not numerous and cannot be said to be sufficient data to claim that those observations are true but still they present some tendencies that can be supported by research on bigger corpora. The following expressions were found in non-fiction texts: *gjøre en påkallelse*, *gjøre et vedtak*, *gjø-*

re en vurdering, gjøre en oppdagelse, gjøre innrømmelser, gjøre utredninger, gjøre tn funn, gjøre prestasjon, gjøre honnør etc. Most of them are not to be found in the fiction texts or only with a low frequency. It may work the other way as well, some of the expressions in the fiction texts are not to be found in the non-fiction texts. In other words, we can say that some expressions are typical for a given genre. Here are some examples found in the fiction texts: *gjøre feil, gjøre nytte, gjøre et tegn, gjøre narr av, gjøre lykke, gjøre dumheter* etc. Obviously, the texts in the non-fiction part take up more serious and formal topics which influence the choice of the expressions used.

5.2 The reasons for the use of single verbs constructions as correspondences.

A single verb construction is the second most common alternative to the delexical verb construction in the Norwegian material and there are several reasons why this verb construction is so popular.

In cases where there is a lack of delexical construction with a suitable event noun, the original construction will be best rendered by a single verb construction:

- *gjøre opprør – to rebel, to repudiate*
- *gjøre seg håp – to hope*
- *gjøre innhugg – to raid*
- *gjøre gjengjeld – to repay*
- *gjøre krav – to claim, to demand*
- *gjøre avbrekk – to interrupt*

Example (5.18)/(5.19) shows the correspondence type in context:

(5.18) *Provence måtte da være det stedet som lå så langt borte som jeg kunne gjøre meg håp om å komme fra Distrikt Seks. (ABR1T)*

(5.19) *Surely Provence was just about the farthest I could hope to get away from District Six.* (ABR1)

Similar to what I observed in the previous section, the choice between the delexical construction and the single verb construction is dependent on style and register. Single verbs can be, as I mentioned before, a tool in creating formal or informal texts. Norwegian verbs like *livnære seg* (make a living) and *tjene på* illustrate the former tendency. Let's not forget about multi-word verbs that serve as single verbs. They are often more formal than single-word verbs, for example: *peke på* and *komme med en bemerkning* (make a point). Similarly, *si* and *komme med bemerkninger* (make a comment). Below are two translation pairs from the corpus where both the more formal and the less formal expressions were rendered into a formal utterance in the target language:

(5.20) *Han visste ikke hvorfor, men han kom med bemerkninger som han angret etterpå* (OEL1)

(5.21) *He did not know why, but he made remarks which he regretted*
wards. (OEL1T)

(5.22) *GILLIAN sa at man ikke kunne si det så generelt og dermed utelate halvparten av menneskeheten, for i femti prosent av tilfellene ville denne noen vise seg å være av hunkjønn.* (JB1T)

(5.23) *GILLIAN said you couldn't make a general remark and then exclude half the human race, because fifty per cent of the time that someone will turn out to be female.* (JB1)

In addition, the last example, (5.22)/(5.23), illustrates that the meaning of the adjective premodifying the eventive object in English is captured by a manner adverb in Norwegian.

Another reason for using single verbs as correspondences is simply to specify the meaning of the original utterance called 'lexical specification' (see section 4.3). As in English, cases of constructions where the meaning changes together with the context are quite numerous here. For example: *gjøre en tjeneste*. In the first translation pair below (5.24), *gjøre en tjeneste* is about 'doing a favor, doing something for someone', in the second

translation pair, it means ‘to be used as, to serve as’ while in the last one it means ‘to have a position of, to be employed as’. These meanings are quite different and the correspondences that do not have single verb form are presented here as a contrast:

(5.24) *"Nå vil jeg at du skal gjøre meg en tjeneste mens jeg ennå lever.* (SH1)

(5.25) *"Now, will you do me one favour while I still live?* (SH1T)

(5.26) *Den gjorde tjeneste som skole og ble fyrst og flikket av gamle Almar i Hestvika.* (HW1)

(5.27) *It was used as a school and was heated and looked after by old Almar from Hestvika.* (HW1T)

(5.28) *c) Rett til å kreve seg fritatt for valg har den som har fylt 65 år før valgperioden tar til, samt den som har gjort tjeneste som medlem av vedkommende organ de siste fire år.* (KL1)

(5.29) *c) Entitled to claim exemption from election is any person who has reached the age of 65 before the commencement of the electoral term or any person who has served as a member of the body concerned for the past four years.* (KL1T)

Other meanings of *gjøre en tjeneste* that were found in the ENPC are: ‘do work; act; be in practice’. This is also characteristic for expressions like *gjøre en bevegelse*, *gjøre tegn*.

And at last, if there is no need for the end-focus and we want to move the focus on the human participant in an utterance, a single transitive verb is a more proper correspondence to multi-word verb constructions. Here are some examples from the corpus:

(5.30) *Plutselig gjorde Tordensønnen tegn til at de skulle stanse.* (SH1)

(5.31) *Suddenly Son-of-Thunder signalled for them to stop.* (SH1T)

5.3 Correspondences that imply a change in meaning.

As we remember, I have found cases in the English material where the original delexical constructions have single verb correspondences which carry a divergent meaning. Yet other constructions do not have single verb correspondences at all. Some Norwegian delexical constructions of that kind are: *gjøre inntrykk*, *gjøre innsats*, *gjøre forskjell*, *gjøre opprør*, *gjøre åtak*, *gjøre et byks*, *gjøre et ufall*, *gjøre fremskritt*, *gjøre innhugg*, *gjøre vesen av* etc. This means that they cannot be substituted by a default single verb alternative.

The observations made with respect to correspondences and the way *make* and *gjøre* are used in delexical constructions present many similarities and some tendencies that were found to be of the same nature. Similar to the English delexical *make* and its correspondences, I have come across several cases of divergent correspondences to the Norwegian delexical *gjøre*.

For example, I have found translation pairs where the correspondences are not of the same morphological form as the eventive noun and do not convey the meanings of the original construction. The example below illustrates the change of the perspective in the translation:

(5.33) *Hannen av den australske løvhyttefuglen er enda mer ytterliggående når den skal gjøre inntrykk på en make.* (ML1T)

(5.34) *The male satin bower bird of Australia goes to even greater lengths to attract a mate.* (ML1)

In the next example, the support verb in the translation changes the referential meaning of the original as we do not know if the experiment was actually carried out. Compare:

(5.35) *Hvis du gjorde det samme eksperimentet med å varme opp og avkjøle luften du puster inn, ville den bli forandret.* (JL1T)

(5.36) *If the same heating-and-cooling experiment were tried with a sample of the air that you are now breathing, it would be changed.* (JL1)

Another type of divergent correspondences are those that do not convey the same level of formality and so, in opposition to their source constructions, they are informal. Here are some examples found in the corpus:

- *gjøre forsøk – give it a try*
- *gjøre forsøk – take a crack at*
- *gjøre inntrykk – cut zero ice (with someone)*

(5.37) *I Vikingskipet 14. februar gjorde han sitt siste forsøk på å vinne 500 m i OL. (KB1)*

(5.38) *In the Viking Ship on 14 February he took a last crack at winning an Olympic 500-metre race. (KB1T)*

What is more, few cases seem to have been misunderstood. The next example presents, in my opinion, an infelicitous translation:

(5.39) *Formannen gjorde en kunstpause her, og såg opp frå manuskriptet, før han heldt fram: Taper ein i konkurransen på verdensmarknaden, gir dette seg straks utslag med tragiske følger på produksjonsstaden. (KFL1T)*

(5.40) *The chairman paused dramatically and looked up from his manuscript, then he continued: If one does not successfully compete in the world market, there are immediate effects that have tragic consequences at the workplace. (KFL1T)*

The adjective in the noun phrase indicates the kind of the verb that should be used in the translation. Unfortunately, the translation in the target language does not seem appropriate. The English correspondent of “kunstpause” is “rhetorical pause”.

To sum up, we can see that cases of divergent correspondences are not a common phenomenon here as the cases found were not numerous.

5.4 Concluding remarks.

The observations described and discussed in this chapter make it clear that the two verbs are quite similar in use and have a lot in common. The mechanisms of creation of delexical verb constructions and the reasons for it do not differ between the two languages and the differences found concern mostly the frequencies of constructions in different genres or the degree to which a given tendency is substantial in a given context.

The difference in semantics between the two verbs seems quite marked when they are used in delexical verb constructions. Already the MC value presented in the third chapter gives us a solid indication of this.

The divergent correspondences found both in the fourth and the fifth chapter are not numerous. Infelicitous translations are a seldom phenomenon as well. Still, certain tendencies could be observed and they are more or less common for both delexical *make* and delexical *gjøre*. The flaw in correspondence may concern different aspects of semantics or morphology between the original sentence and the translation:

- some constructions have no parallel single-word verb in present day use,
- some constructions have a non-cognate single-word verb as a correspondence,
- in some cases the eventive noun is morphologically related to a single-word verb, but the expanded predicate differs semantically from that verb,
- some correspondences display a different morphological form from the original and do not convey the same meaning,
- some cases do not carry the same level of formality,
- some cases are examples of infelicitous, wrong translations or translations indicating a change in perspective or in meaning etc.

When it comes to the circumstances under which the choices concerning the correspondences are made, the same conditioning factors are valid for delexical *gjøre* as for delexical *make* so it makes no sense repeating them here. Have a look at section 4.4 in chapter 4.

VI. The summary and conclusion.

The current study gives a description of the use of delexical verb constructions with *make* and *gjøre* in English and Norwegian respectively in the ENPC. It is a preliminary analysis carried out by systematic observation and description of the above-mentioned linguistic phenomenon which was found in a range of genres. Attention has been paid to a number of features which distinguish these kind of verb constructions from others.

The terminology was adopted mostly from Quirk et al. (1985), Johansson (2007) and Altenberg (2001). The theory and the methodology used were explored in the first chapter. Comparing the originals and translations back and forth helped in determining the appropriate search terms. Actually, the greatest amount of work was devoted to retrieving the constructions being studied and then assigning to these constructions the particular linguistic characteristic being investigated in the study.

My thesis then aimed at filling a gap at a descriptive level and in describing the similarities and differences among the two languages within the same descriptive framework, at the level of grammar and semantics. Hence, my comparative approach. The representation of the constructions both within (intralingual analysis) and between the languages (interlingual analysis) was presented in the third, fourth and fifth chapter and it was a challenging task. However, I benefited from the structure of the corpus which enabled this kind of representation since it includes both original and translated texts within the same languages. It is a crucial feature since, as I observed, similarly to Ramnäs (2004), the equivalence between English and Norwegian expressions is often stronger in one direction of translation than in the other (as cited in Aijmer and Hasselgård 2004: 45). This is supported by one of the very first observations I made in chapter III. The Norwegian delexical construction with *gjøre* is often translated into an English congruent construction with *make* (32,5 % of all cases), thus making delexical *make* the most common translation equivalent of this verb construction. However, English delexical *make* is seldom translated into Norwegian delexical *gjøre* (only 18%) but much more often translated into a single verb construction. So interestingly, if we go from Norwegian to English, we find that delexical *make* is the most common English equivalent of Norwegian *gjøre*, but if we go in the other direction, this is no longer true.

My task was also to evaluate to what extent there is a systematic relationship between the syntactic and semantic features of delexical *make* and *gjøre*. When it comes to the syntactic

differences they were mostly statistical and not categorical. The distributions I have found show a remarkable degree of consistency, but not completely, with the results from the previous studies (like Altenberg 2001) and it was usually possible to provide some reasonable interpretations for the patterns observed or to explain the reasons for it. There was a number of problems however. Many phenomena cannot be easily identified in corpus except by manual action. The borderlines between the categories are not that sharp and several cases were included into the borderline category and so the classification process was quite complex.

Despite the fact that both delexical *make* and *gjøre* can be rendered into 4 main types of constructions (1. Congruent, delexical constructions, 2. Other verb + NP delexical constructions, 3. Single verb constructions, 4. Other constructions), there was a substantial variation between the registers.

First of all, delexical uses of *make* and *gjøre* are not evenly distributed throughout the two subcorpora. Delexical *make* has a much stronger position in English than Norwegian *gjøre* has in Norwegian as it is twice as common.

There are significant differences in the distribution pattern with reference to original and translation texts as well. Delexical *make* is underused in translations while delexical *gjøre* is overused in translations compared to original texts in the same language. What is more, delexical *make* is most often rendered by a single verb construction while delexical *gjøre* is most often rendered by a congruent construction with *make*. Delexical *gjøre* displays a greater choice of alternative constructions than delexical *make*. The MC of the constructions in the research question is not high as it is 30% for delexical *make* and 18% for delexical *gjøre*. Only as many as 3,3 % of the constructions have 100% MC which means that both delexical constructions have important competitors in each language and are often translated by an alternative construction. This may be caused by a better choice in the other language and by a lexical gap between the languages. It should be kept in mind that the constructions that have a 100% MC are infrequent so that the bigger corpus with more examples might bring the MC down.

Secondly, the fact that the proportion of delexical verb constructions is higher in non-fiction texts confirms the stylistic development that can be documented, in other ways, by “the narrowing of the gap between the norms of spoken and written language, the “colloquialisation” of English writing that has taken place over the past 30 years (Mair 1997: 215).

I can conclude that my analysis have shown that distribution is not only numbers and that

through appropriate observation and interpretation we can describe how language is actually used in different text types and also discover new patterns or those which were not previously known as well as documenting phenomena which we had suspected, or not.

When it comes to the semantics, despite the fact that the two verbs are similar, delexical constructions have developed many language-specific differences, which makes them treacherous for foreign language learners. That is why, many linguists emphasize the importance of such block-like, multi-word constructions “(...) that are essentially semantically and syntactically compositional” (...) and “fulfill organizational or rhetorical functions that are prominent in academic writing, e.g. introducing a topic, hypothesizing, summarizing, contrasting, exemplifying, explaining, evaluating, concluding, etc.” (Paquot 2005: 1). Similarly to Howarth (1998), Paquot claims that:

“it is not idioms that learners need for effective communication in academic settings but the lexical means that will allow them to conform to “the native stylistic norms for a particular register”, which “entails not only making appropriate grammatical and lexical choices but also selecting conventional [multi-word units] to an appropriate extent” (Howarth 1998 as cited in Paquot 2005: 1).

A definite advantage of using a corpora with reference to this is that they can extend the notion of dictionary equivalence. There may be far more correspondences to different lexical items being investigated in this way than one would find in a dictionary, since some of them are very context-dependent. Hence, bilingual corpora are increasing in use as a research basis for the creation of bilingual dictionaries. (see chapter I, section 1.1)

In addition to this, the delexical value that the two verbs, *make* and *gjøre*, may very often express have no equivalent in Norwegian nor English. Similarly to Ramnäs (2004), we can observe that the large number of zero correspondences (114) encountered in the corpus seems to indicate that the two languages do not have the same need of expressing the particular delexical value that the two verbs may carry in each of the languages (Ramnäs 2004, as cited in Aijmer and Hasselgård 2004: 49).

I have not only discussed the basic meaning of the two constructions in the research question but also the different meanings that can be assigned to those verbs under different circumstances. I managed to show that the meaning of the delexical construction often depends on the context. In other words, the context, which depends on syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors, helps us assign specific meanings of the particular delexical verb constructions with *make* or *gjøre*. However, it doesn't exclude the fact that the verb in the predicative has a basic meaning that is present in all its uses.

What is more, the use of the corpus advantaged the observation of the translation characteristics and gave an insight into particular problems connected with that. It not only helped me to understand the translation process but also to control the so called “translation effects” (Johansson 2004:79). The bidirectional translation enables to distinguish between language differences and translation effects thanks to the fact that we can make comparisons of different kinds (see chapter I, section 1.5.2). The divergetn correspondences I found in my material were not numerous but still some tendencies and irregularities could be observed.

As I mentioned before, there are some difficulties for investigations based on translation corpora. Interesting questions may be raised here about translation competence. Namely, what can be problematic here is the differentiation between the translator’s individual choice and a more “normal”, standard rendering of original utterances into a target language. This is thanks again to the structure of the corpus where parallel texts are generally represented by a single source text whereby each is then translated individually into a number of languages.

I can evaluate my study empirically as it sheds new light on the use of delexical verb constructions with *make* and *gjøre* and determines the contexts in which the verb construction is used and its functions in the texts and it proves that the delexical verb construction is increasing in use in texts where it was previously uncommon. Methodologically, my study has shown that a comparison of one item in two given languages is useful in the study of linguistic change. Hence, I hope that my study contributed to a better understanding of the delexical verb constructions with *make* and *gjøre* and delexical verb constructions in general. I believe that I have managed to illustrate that such verbs can only be adequately and properly understood if studied from both theoretical and descriptive perspectives.

I believe that, if the corpus used was supplemented with other methods or if my study was replicated on a bigger corpora, it would provide us with more information on “standard” correspondences in both English and Norwegian. I believe that these results can definitely be used as a basis for further studies, because the corpus-based grammar has only just begun. Stig Johansson puts it in this way: “(...), translation corpora have some limitations. Hence, corpora of this kind must be supplemented by larger monolingual corpora in order to adequately represent the languages to be compared (Johansson 2004: 65).

I would like to point here to further possibilities of research, such as the division of labour between different delexical verbs in English and Norwegian, perhaps particularly *make/do* vs. *gjøre/lage*, which would definitely be an interesting continuation of my research. Comparisons between three languages are increasing in popularity as well so involving my mother tongue, which is Polish, would be interesting.

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Corpus material:

English-Norwegian Parallell Corpus, <http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/cgi-bin/omc/PerlTCE.cgi>
 The website of the corpus: <http://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/OMC/Norsk/Delkorpuser.html>